



**LANGUAGE VARIATIONS AT THE GENDER
LEVEL: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION
OF LANGUAGE VARIETIES USED BY WOMEN
AMONG THE URDU SPEECH COMMUNITY OF
NORTH INDIA**

ABSTRACT

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy
IN
LINGUISTICS

BY

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UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

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2010



ABSTRACT

The present study is an attempt to investigate the phenomenon of gender related differences in male and female speech patterns in relation to language varieties used by women among Urdu speech community in Aligarh.

In order to furnish a proper perspective on this work it is necessary to analyse in some details , the variations in verbal repertoire of Urdu speakers in terms of phonology, morphology , syntax, discourse and lexicon. It is generally held that there exists a difference between male and female speech but it is to be stressed through supportive details that the differences between the speech of the two, do not result from the sex difference but from the social inferiority of women.

It is also considered that there is a total cleavage between the male and female speech. This seems to be an oversimplification of facts for the gender of a person can only determine choices to certain forms of a language. It is observed that there are certain linguistic forms that are used only by females, while other forms are preferred by men. These differences are known as gender preferential differences.

It is also highlighted that women hardly resort to stigmatized language and they generally use prestige forms more than men .They are more and more prone and sensitive to the prestige forms of language than their counterparts. Manifestations of conservative and innovative elements in women's speech are also discussed elaborately. Irrationality of the notion that regards women's speech as aberrant is examined with illustrations.

Though the speech of both sexes is influenced by each other's way of speaking. It sharply differs not only in communicative

strategies but also in lexicon and morphology. Various queer and quaint Urdu expressions of day to day conversation have been scrutinized with an emphasis on women's use of Urdu in their daily round of talk.

A sociolinguistic analysis of women's Urdu speech in Aligarh has been carried out in this thesis. A vast amount of data was collected during the field work in Aligarh. The analysis particularly is limited to the women's specific terminology of the sociolect. This study is the sociolinguistic analysis of women's terminology in six different chapters. Each chapter has its own sub-sections. A summary of our conclusions is given here in the end.

The present study is conducted with a view to examining the female speech of the Urdu speaking community of Aligarh. According to a general belief females speech is considered to be different from males speech but it is not because of their sex but because of their inferior position in the society and also due to double standards of the society for measuring their behaviour.

Women's behaviour regarding their day to day talk is generally assumed as aberrant. The assumption about women's speech (language) is irrational and unfair for it fails to do full justice to the nuances of words and expressions used by women. It is surprising that women's standard forms are considered objectionable whereas men are found more wanting in making use of sophisticated language during the course of conversation.

The first chapter in my thesis deals with the theoretical background of "sociolinguistics and throws a good deal of light on the scope of its study". It embodies some theoretical observations about "male and female speech", with reference to the method of data analysis . There are some observations about men and women's use of Urdu words and expressions in their different social situations. . Women talk more than men, says Cameron, not

because they are women, but because there is a tendency for gaining higher status to talk more.

Chapter second covers "phonological variation". It has been observed about the phonological variation that the variant forms used by females are fewer than males. The number of variant forms in the speech of the male is quite high. Even the frequency of switching of these variant forms depends upon the context and is slightly reduced among the females. It is remarked about the use of polite expressions that they are present in the repertoire of both males and females. It is females who are expected to observe them more as compared to the males. This presence of polite and impolite expressions in the repertoire of both males and females and the frequent use of variant forms by both sexes may be because of the age factor. They both have a similar opportunity of education and share the experiences gained from the outside of their homes.

Chapter 3 entitled "Morphological variations" contains various reduplicated forms. It has been divided into three forms i.e. total, partial, and echo forms.

Chapter 4 deals with "syntactic variation". Males use some explicit commands in order to express their dominance; females use more modalized interrogatives. But in some cases it is gathered from the data that some females also use explicit commands as are used by males. Sometimes females refuse to accept the male dominance and superiority complex. From the male interruptions overlaps and topic control, sentence incompleteness results. Males interrupt the speech so that the females should leave their talk incomplete.

It is noticed that both the males and females use back channel noises and minimal responses as shown in the data.

Females use back channel noises like hmm, mm to show cooperation. They use more adjectives than males.

Minimal responses such as hu,ha, are used by females in greater frequency but males use this response "hu" after a lengthy remark of a woman. It is neither to encourage her nor to elaborate. Such minimal interactions operate to discourage interactions.

Chapter 5 deals with "lexical differences". It deals with a large corpus of women's vocabulary. This chapter is limited to the exhaustively collected data that has been used in the illustrative examples for the validation of the analysis. There are some specific terms of utensils, jewellery, color terms and items of clothing that are not used by them now. Some colour terms are not common in either of sexes. uda: , na:rangi, meṭmela: , pya:zi are confined to women. Words like həra: , la:l , gula:bi, pi:la: , ni:la: are common in use of both sexes. This chapter deals with some specific expressions / phrases that are exclusively used by women like ummi:d se hona:(be conceived), hī:ng ləge na: phiṭkəri aur rēng bhi ḍokha: ho ja:e(trying to get good results without efforts).However some phrases like that are used by males also , for instance, meri billi mujhe hi mia:ũ (), jesi ma:i vesi ja:i (like daughter like mother) . Some other expressions and phrases are also common to male and female. These are collected through the field survey.

Males and females are said to include different lexical items in their total repertoire depending on the range and kinds of fields in which they are involved. For example there are certain colour terms which are common to both males and females such as la:l , həra: , ni:la: , pila: , bhura: , gula:bi etc. But there are some colour terms such as ra:ni , u:da: , pya:zi , mēhdi , rupehla: ,ka:sni etc which are exclusively used by females. This may be due

to the females sensitive nature to observe things more minutely than males.

Our data is based on adult , adolescent , female's and male's day to day language .It contains food items , terms of clothes, euphemistic terms, terms of curses and contempt, terms of swearing, some terms of ornamentation and idiomatic expressions that are specific to females.

Chapter 6 examines "the variations at discourse and communicative strategy levels". It is believed that females are more status conscious than males because of their lifestyle that confers very little status on them, hence they are expected to talk less or rather keep silent .But today they hold certain responsible chairs and give a talk on matters of contemporary interest and even they set tones for discussion. They create and maintain relationship of closeness and equality. They recognize the speech rights of others and allow them to speak. They use minimal responses and use back-channel noises for having co-operative attitude and active involvement.

Females as compared to males become less aggressive when they cannot prove their point while males always want to dominate others through their speech . They are less cooperative in conversation and sometimes even they reject the topic when they are not comfortable with that.This false perception gives rise to feelings of superiority and dominance over females.

Interruptions and overlaps are the two irregularities in the turn taking of conversation and may be seen in the males more as compared to females.However , with regard to the same sex group conversations both interruptions and overlaps may be seen, but the degree of irregularities is different.

By the analysis of the collected data it is revealed that males interrupt conversation with a view to indulging their passion for superiority.

In these days of computer age language as a whole is undergoing variety of striking differences both in formal and non-formal styles. The youth of today have a predilection for SMS and are given to lavish use of slangs and shorter forms of expression. They very much like to write 'thnx u' in place of 'thank you'. To them language has become 'lingo' whereas great is preferred to 'gr8'. Expression (such as) like 'sexy' and 'hot' that are used at comfort levels are gaining wide currency all around. Yet all such linguistic changes in day to day use are not very comforting to the older generation.

Women's social life is exhibiting a variety of changes in a rapidly changing world and also opening up newer possibilities for their education and employment. They have acquired higher status and rejected old and rigid norms of society. Having abandoned regimented lifestyle, females have begun to work with men in various walks of life. It shows that today the role of men and women in our society is collaborative and complementary. It is observed that the speech of both the sexes has been influenced by each other's speech. It is also found out that the males who were earlier given to using dominating language have begun to condescending to employ the language which was once known as women's language.

It is a hard fact that male and female speak differently. The present study explains that men and women make differences not only in lexicon but also in communicative strategies. When there is conversation between men and women, men usually tend to interrupt and very often monopolize the conversation whereas women encourage transaction of a good talk through the use of

facilitative tags and variety of other suitable means as well. In addition to difference between male and female conversation the thesis also examines language varieties used by women in Urdu speech community. Female's use of Urdu language in day to day life is treated here in great detail with a view to catching the very nuances of their expressions . Various queer and quaint words of Urdu employed by women have been analysed to indicate that they are strikingly different from those used by males. The thesis studies differences in Urdu speech in relation to gender with a primary focus on women's particular use of Urdu in their daily round of talk.

Varied shades of meaning in the everyday women's parlance are clearly perceptible. Many of their words and expressions do not belong to the text book and are not in frequent use. It is concluded that the work is likely to introduce the Urdu speech community to a different genre of language and may enrich the Urdu speakers repertoire of words and expressions.



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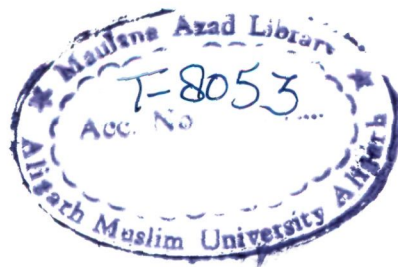
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2010



28 SEP 2014

*Dedicated
To My
Loving Parents*

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Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis entitled, **Language Variations at the Gender Level : A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Language Varieties used by Women Among the Urdu Speech Community of North India**", submitted by **Ms. Anjum Fatima** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics, has been completed under my supervision.

I further certify that Ms. Anjum Fatima has fulfilled all the conditions laid down in the Academic Ordinances with regard to the Ph.D. course work, and that the thesis is the product of her own investigation of the subject.

Samina A.A. Surti
(Dr.) Mrs. Samina A.A. Surti
(Supervisor)

Acknowledgement

I express my profound gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Samina A.A. Surti, for her generous advice and useful suggestions during the course of this Study. Inspite of her busy schedule of duties, she took great pains to go through this work at every stage of its completion.

I take this opportunity to thank Prof. Imtiaz Hasnain, chairman Department of linguistics, A.M.U. for his special inputs in the Study.

I am grateful to Prof. A.R. Fatihi, Ex-chairman Department of Linguistics, A.M.U., for his valuable help and stimulating suggestions from time to time.

I am also indebted to my other teachers of the Department of Linguistics for their useful suggestions and help. I am also obliged to Mr. Najeebul Hasan Khan, seminar-librarian and other members of staff, and my friends for their help and cooperation in completing this work.

*I have no words to express my eternal gratitude for the deep love of my parents which they have been showering on me throughout, especially during the course of the Study. My heart also goes to my elder sister **Shehla Fatima** and other members of the family who took care of me in every possible manner so that I may complete this study with peace of mind.*

Words fail me to express my profound sense of gratitude to my husband, who gave me time and make all needed scarifies to let me do research comfortably.

*Last but not the least, I owe my thankfulness to **Mr. Abul Kalam Azad**, proprietor 'All-In-One Compuwriters', for painstakingly giving the Study its present type-set and form.*


ANJUM FATIMA

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Notational Conventions

A hyphen	-
Oblique	/
Comma	,
Inverted commas	" "
Semi inverted commas	' '
Semi colon	;
Colon	:
Full stop	.
Length of vowel	:
Nasalization	~
Phonemic writing/Transcription	//
Phonetic symbol	[]
Graphemes	< >
Bracket	()

Chapter 1

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

The present study is an attempt to investigate the phenomenon of gender related differences in male and female speech patterns in relation to language varieties used by women among Urdu speech community in Aligarh.

In order to furnish a proper perspective on this work it is necessary to analyse in some details, the variations in verbal repertoire of Urdu speakers in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse and lexicon. It is generally held that there exists a difference between male and female speech but it is to be stressed through supportive details that the differences between the speech of the two, do not result from the sex difference but from the social inferiority of women.

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It is also highlighted that women hardly resort to stigmatized language and they generally use prestige forms more than men. They are more and more prone and sensitive to the prestige forms of language than their counterparts. Manifestations of conservative and innovative elements in women's speech are also discussed elaborately. Irrationality of the notion that regards women's speech as aberrant is examined with illustrations.

Though the speech of both sexes is influenced by each other's way of speaking. It sharply differs not only in communicative strategies but also in lexicon and morphology. Various queer and quaint Urdu expressions of day to day conversation have been scrutinized with an emphasis on women's use of Urdu in their daily round of talk.

This analysis is based upon the data collected through the field work by using varied procedures and techniques. A sociolinguistic analysis of gender based differences in Urdu speech community of Aligarh is carried out in this thesis.

With a view to providing a proper perspective on the present work we have classified the work in five sections. SECTION 1 deals with the term Sociolinguistics , binary term sex and gender, an overview of the differences between the language of the two sexes, language variations at the gender level, differences between the speech of males and females in relation to phonology, morphology , lexicon , syntax and discourse . SECTION 2 expounds communicative competence of males and females, taboo language, language and power, dominance versus subjection, changing the topic of conversation, women's derogatory terms for men, language and sex : a case of Double Standards, and stereotypes attached to these differences. SECTION 3 covers linguistics setting of the Urdu speech community and includes profile of urdu speakers in District Aligarh. Research methodology is taken up in SECTION 4 while aims and scope of the study are treated in SECTION 5.

SECTION- 1

1.1 Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is the study of language in its social context. Social context as applied to language basically means the linguistic

variation. If an individual speaks in different ways in different social contexts-that is a stylistic variation and if an individual differs from the others in terms of age, sex, social class, ethnic group and also in his / her speech, even in the same context it will then constitute social variation and sociolinguists are interested in all such aspects of language variations. There is a close relationship between language and society by which the sense of sociolinguistics comes out as the branch of the study of language in terms of society in which language is being used. It studies the effects of any and all aspects of society including cultural norms, expectations and contexts on language.

Sociolinguistics studies many communicative issues and in a significant way correlates social structure with linguistic structure and analyses changes that occur. Sociolinguistics thus deals with the matters such as the linguistic identity of social group, social attitude of language, standard and non standard forms of language, the patterns and needs of national language use, social varieties and level of language and also the social basis of multilingualism and some other manifold that are closely related to language and society.

The social aspects of language, in the modern sense were first studied by Indian and Japanese linguists in the 1930's and also by Gouchal in Switzerland in the early 1900's. The study of the social motivation of language change, has its foundation in the wave model of the late 19th century. Sociolinguistics in the West, first appeared in the 1960's and was pioneered by linguists such as William Labov in the U.S. and Basil Bernstein in the U.K. The most important reason that has led to the growth of socio linguistic research has been the recognition of the importance of the fact that language is a much variable phenomenon and this variability may

be explained in terms of language and society. Language is not merely a single code that is used in the same manner by all people in a speech community. Linguistic insight helps to tackle these variations. It is an applied branch of linguistics which studies those properties of language and languages which acquire references for social contexts including cultural factors in their explanation in which it is learned and used. It is that aspect of linguistics which analyses all the manifestation of the relationship between language and society. It identifies social functions of language and the ways in which language is used to convey social meaning.

Sociolinguistic studies started with a correlational approach as Gumperz (1971) observed and referred to the relationship between two variables such as social structure and linguistic structure. Both have assumed and become basis of approach that is fundamentally linguistic in nature. Sociolinguistics finds out how language itself works because the goal of such work is the discovery of universal truth about language including the reasons for changes that occur.

Sociolinguistic studies are related to the evaluation and analysis of social phenomena and processes. For this purpose , sociolinguistic studies examine the entire problems which are lying within social determination of language, function of language and social effect on language development. Any linguistic discipline cannot avoid the social essence that lies in the nature of language, and in sociolinguistics that essence is studied systematically .

It is a well known fact that language as a social practice occupies all aspects of social life in society and will continue to hold on them in the future. Sociolinguistics builds up its own theory by determining language as a social phenomenon. It's not a mechanical amalgamation but it is an organic unity of both the sociological and linguistic aspects that are investigated.

Therefore, it may be said that sociolinguistics is a problem oriented social science subject and its methods and techniques of research are similar to those of other social sciences. It approaches the problem from inside of the society and not from the outside of the society. At the very outset it is stressed that if some one wants to communicate successfully in a language other than his own, then it would not only enough for him to learn the phonology grammar and vocabulary of that language but also to learn how appropriately it is used in certain social situations keeping in view the norms which are employed and accepted by its native speakers. As the topic of the research is a sociolinguistic investigation into language varieties used by the women of Urdu speech community, this work is purely based on field data and statistical analysis of the data at the level of phonology, morphology syntax and discourse and lexis which will be taken up in succeeding chapters.

1.2 Sex and Gender

In a social construction perspective, both sex and gender are seen as socially developed notion (Lorber and Farrell, 1991:7) . Sex is understood more as a continuum made up of chromosomal sex, gonadal sex and hormonal sex and all of which “works in the presence and under the influence of a set of environments” (Fausto-Sterling, 1985:7). Whereas, “gender”, the psychological, social and cultural differences between males and females are concerned (Anthony Giddens 1989:158).

1.3 Difference between the languages of the Sex: An overview

In what way the female’s speech is different from that of males? Are these differences purely hypothetical constructs? What are the socio linguistic explanations given to these differences?

It has been observed that women have a greater tendency to ask questions. As Fishman (1978: 404) comments "at times I feel that all women did was to ask questions". They are more likely than man to make utterances that demand or encourage responses from their fellow speakers and are therefore in Fishman's words "more actively engaged in insuring interaction than the men" (1978: 404)

They also show a greater tendency to make use of positive minimal responses especially 'mm', 'hmm' and are more likely to insert such comments throughout streams of talk rather than simply at the end.

According to Herschman (1973: 6) women have a far greater tendency to use the pronouns 'you' and 'we' which explicitly acknowledge the presence of the other speaker.

The strategy of 'silent protest' seems to be operative in women's speech. They adopt this strategy when they are interrupted or they receive a delayed minimal response. (Zimmerman & West 1975; West & Zimmerman 1977: pg 524) Deborah Cameron and Jennifer Coates (1985) in an article entitled "Some problems in the sociolinguistic explanation of sex differences" found that women on average deviate less from the prestige standard than men. According to Cameron and Coates three explanations may be given for this persistent difference:

1. Conservatism
2. Status
3. Solidarity

1.3 (a) Conservatism

Conservatism, although provides a viable explanation, is rife with self-contradiction. Otto Jespersen (1922, pg 240) asserts that women's conservatism and modesty prevent them from innovating

in language while he praises men for coining new fresh expressions. In 18th Century, women were blamed for introducing new items into the English lexicon and men were supposed to have guarded the purity of standard language.

Trudgill (1974, pg 90) cites the example of Koasatic and Chukchi as cases where the women's speech preserves older form and is looked upon as conservative.

1.3 (b) Status

The status explanation of linguistic sex difference is very much tied up with an approach to variation based on serial stratification (Labov, 1972, and Trudgill, 1974 a)

Surveys using this approach have produced the result that women have higher values than men for prestige variants and correspondingly lower values for vernacular variants. But women also show more marked pattern of style shift. This leads to disbelieve any notion of conservatism and leads to believe that women may be hyper correcting.

Trudgill (1974, pg 94) says that women may be more status conscious than men partly because society sets higher standards of behavior of females and because women's lifestyle confers very little status in itself.

Trudgill says that they are thus under pressure to acquire status by other means such as their speech patterns. Their sensitivity to linguistic norms is associated with the insecurity of their social positions.

This status-based explanation of linguistic sex- difference methodology is also partly questionable. Both Trudgill and Labov use a standard sociological model which places heavy emphasis on occupation as an indication of social class.

1.3 (c) Solidarity

There are some languages in the world which may be pointedly called women's languages. Japanese is an interesting example of existence of women's language. To Sridevi (1977) characteristics of women's language are as follows:

1. Avoidance of vulgar language and slangs.
2. Special sentence-ending particles and exclamations.
3. Special self-reference and address forms.
4. Frequent use of honorific styles.
5. A particular pitch range and set of intonations.

Lesley Milroy (1980, pg 194) asserts that the importance of solidarity is a factor that influences pattern of language use. The evidence is that a tight-knit network is an important mechanism of language maintenance. The two key notions in the work of Milroy are density and multiplicity.

1. Density refers to the reciprocal links among a group of people.
2. Multiplicity refers to the different kind of links between members of the network.

1.4 *Language Variation at the Gender level*

The major issue of sociolinguistics of speech is the study of the relationship between the sex and the language, which was initiated at the end of 1960's and early in 1970's. Through linguistic research in many societies it is possible to observe that the speeches of men and women differ but what are the ways in which female speech differs from that of males? What are these differences? Are they really hypothetical constructs? What are the socio linguistic explanations to show these hypothetical differences? And these differences are quite small in some cases and greater in

some others. But in many cases they are not even being noticed. The main reason may be that male and female are losing their individuality or priority equally. There are following overviews that provide an account of the differences between the languages of the gender.

On average, men and women differ a bit in their different language styles as compared to their counterparts and such differences occur on quantitative basis rather than on qualitative. By and large the differences between the languages of the sex highlight the characteristics of the females' speech. However, there are certain features which may be exclusively attributed to males' speech, for example, the notion of their interruption. Men are more likely to interrupt the speech of their conversational partners i.e. the speech of women. (Zimmerman and West 1975; West and Zimmerman 1977; West 1979)

Zimmerman and West (1975) have also pointed out certain mechanisms that are used mostly by men as compared to women for controlling the topic of development and the introduction of new topics.

They may even challenge or dispute their partner's utterances or ignore their comments i.e. they would offer no response or acknowledgement at all (Hirschman 1973) or may respond unenthusiastically (Fishman 1979) or slowly in a way that has been described as a delayed minimal response.

"Men make more direct declarations of fact or opinion than women, including suggestions and statements of orientation" as Strodbeck and Mann (1956).

This is to say, that women make more minimal responses than men. It is most likely the same to say that as the men are taller than women (i.e. men are on average taller than women,

however some women are taller than some men). Robin Lakoff in 1975 argued that style of language served to maintain women's inferior role in society (Female Deficit Approach) and later he refined his argument revealing that gender difference reflected a power difference or difference in dominance (O' Barr & At Kins, 1980) ("dominance Theory"). These perspectives represent that language of men is normative which implies that women's style is inferior in society.

Sometimes, gender difference in language is also determined by cultural differences. Deborah Tannen (1991) has compared gender difference to cultural differences and pointed to similarities between them. She argued that men have a reporting style and aim to communicate factual information and women have a rapport style which is concerned with building and maintaining relationships. Such differences are more in use across media, including face to face conversation (Fitzpatrick, 1999), writing essays of primary school children (Mulac, Studley, & Blau, 1990), email (Thomson & Murachver, 2001), and even toilet graffiti (Green, 2003).

Communicative styles are a product of context. Such gender differences most likely happen in single gender groups and one explanation for this gender pattern is that people accommodate their language style to the style of the person whom they are interacting with. Therefore such gender differences are less pronounced in a mixed gender group. The same important observation is that such accommodation is usually for the language style not for the gender of person (Thomson, Murachver & Green 2001).

1.5 Difference of speech in males and females

1. Phonological difference
2. Morphological difference
3. Lexical difference
4. Syntactic difference
5. Variation at discourse and communicative strategy levels

We exemplify these differences with languages across the world.

1.5 (a) Phonological difference

The phonological differences between the speech of males and females have been noticed in a variety of languages, for instance, the Chukchi language which is spoken in Eastern Siberia but varies phonologically in terms of the sex of the speaker. Females generally use /s/ whereas males use /ts/ or /r/; women say /samkissin/ and males say /ramkitssin/ to 'people'.

In Montana, men and women of the Gros Ventre tribe have differences in the pronunciation. For example the velar plosive /k/ is replaced by an affricate in the men's speech; /kjasta/ is pronounced by women and /djasta/ by men for 'bread'.

In Yukhagir a north-east Asian language, both women and children have /ts/ and /ds/ whereas men have /tj/ and /dj/.

1.5 (b) Morphological difference

Males and females also differ at the morphological level. To Edward Sapir a language which is spoken by the Yanas (California) is different morphologically from that used in other situations (from men to women, women to men, and women to women).

Men's language seems to preserve historically older forms. Sapir suggests that the reduced female forms symbolize women's lower status; the men's fuller forms are associated with ceremony

and formality. This is an interesting case of male speech being associated with conservation and linguistic purity characteristics.

Kurukh, a Dravidian tribal language which is spoken in Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh shows difference in the use of language among males and females. According to Abbi (1991) Kurukh women speakers have distinct set of grammatical rules operating in verb endings, demonstrative pronominal and some nominals.

The rules are formed in such a way that men to men, women to women or women to men conversations differ in lexical and grammatical forms. For example:-

Men's Speech (Plural)		Female's Speech (Plural)	Gloss
	kukko-r	Kukka: xdd	Boys
	pægi-r	pægi = ə : 1æ	old men

1.5 (c) Lexical difference

In almost every language, the pronoun system marks sex distinctions in the 3rd person (e.g. he/she) but the distinction is less commonly made in the first and second persons where sex of the speaker is involved. Bodine (1975a) says Japanese is a language which marks sex in all three persons of the pronoun.

1.5 (c.1) Colour terms:

Males and females also use different lexical sets in their total repertoire. Lakoff gives us the best known example of colour terms which are more confidently used by female than males. There are some colour terms that are common for both sexes, for instance, red, green, pink and blue. However, there are certain colour terms

that are largely used by females like beige, magenta, fawn, ultramarine, mauve.

1.5 (c.11) Evaluative Adjectives

Some disparities co exist elsewhere in the vocabulary in terms of sex, consider for example: a group of adjectives which has specific and literal meanings and the other use of adjectives indicating speakers approbation or admiration for something. Some adjectives are neutrals which are either used by men or by women, but some of these adjectives are largely confined to the use of women's speech. For instance:

Neutral	Women's only
Great	Adorable
Terrific	Charming
Cool	Divine
Neat	Sweet Cute Precious

1.5 (c.111) Difference in the use of particles

There is difference in the speech between women and men in the use of particles. There may be no referent for them, but they are far from being meaningless: they define the social context of an utterance that indicates the relationship the speaker feels between himself and his addressee, between himself and what he is talking about. For example a female might say:

"Darling, you have put the chappati in the oven again."

Whereas, a male will say:

"Shit, again you put chappati in oven."

1.5 (d) Syntactic difference

Women's speech is peculiar syntactically. Although there is no such rule in English that is exclusive to male or female, there is at least one rule that a woman uses more in conversational situation than a man that is a tag question. For example a male will say:

"War is terrible."

And female will say:

"War is terrible, is n't it.? (Lakoff pg 19).

SECTION-2

Variation at discourse and communicative strategy levels

2.1 *Communicative Competence of males and females*

2.1(a) Minimal responses

The ways in which communication of men and women differs is in their use of minimal responses i.e. paralinguistic features such as 'mhm', 'yeah'. These behaviors are associated with collaborative language use (Carli, 1990). Moreover, men use them less often and where this does happen is generally to display agreement as Zimmerman and West's (1977) study of turn taking in conversation indicates.

2.1(b) Questions

The other way of difference between two genders is apparent from their use of questions in conversation. For men, a question is generally a genuine request for information and where women are concerned, it can often be a rhetorical means of engaging others conversational contribution or getting attention from others conversationally involved and these techniques are associated with a collaborative approach to language use (Barnes, 1971), Thus women more frequently ask questions (Fitzpatrick, et

al; 1995; Todd, 1983). But as far as writing is concerned, they, both use rhetorical questions as literary devices. For instance, Mark Twain used it in "A war Prayer" to provoke the reader to question his actions and beliefs.

2.1(c) Turn taking

The work of De Francisco (1991) reveals that female linguistic behavior characteristically encompasses a desire to take turns in conversation with others. It is totally opposed to men's tendency towards centering on their own point or remaining silent which offers such implicit offers of conversational turn-taking as are provided by hedges such as "y' know" and "isn't it? such desire for turn taking leads to complex forms of interaction in relation to the more regimented form of turn-taking commonly exhibited by men (Sacks et al; 1974).

2.1(d) Self-Disclosure

Females usually have tendencies to self-disclosure i.e. sharing their problems and experiences with others who often offer sympathy (Dinda & Allen, 1992; Tannen, 1991; 49). On the contrary, males have tendencies towards non-self disclosure; they don't tend to offer advice or solution when confronted with another's problems.

2.1(e) Verbal aggression

Men are often more verbally aggressive while conversing (Labov, 1972), frequently using threats, profanities Yelling and name calling. Women, on the other hand are often different from their opposite sex. Women, on the whole, deem this to disrupt the flow of conversation and not (Eder's 1990) as a means of upholding one's hierarchical status in the conversation. In fact, where women

swear, that usually demonstrates to others what is normal behavior for them. (Eder, 1990).

2.1(f) Politeness

Politeness in speech can be described having both positive and negative face; respectively, the idea of pandering to others desire to be liked and admired and not to suffer imposition. Both forms, according to Brocon's study of the Tzeltal language (1980) are more frequently used by women whether in mixed or single sex-pairs and, suggest a greater sensitivity in women than in men to the face needs of others. In other words, women depend more on politeness rather than men do. However, negative face politeness is viewed as weak and frail language because of its association with hedges and tag questions. A positive face politeness expresses solidarity by attributing relevant knowledge to the addressee. This view is propounded by O' Barr and Atkins (1980) in their work on courtroom interaction. A positive face politeness expresses solidarity by attributing relevant knowledge to the addressee.

2.1(g) Command and Directives

A directive may be defined as a speech meant to get someone to do something. Women seem to be taught to use the more polite, weaker and more self-effacing forms of directives such as

Would you please close the door?

Vs, close the door.

Lakoff argues, if it is asked, "What time are we leaving for our trip tomorrow? Then it would seem natural to expect a man to reply with something like 'At 7.30 and I want everyone to be ready'. In Lakoff's view, women would tend to avoid answering, 'At six o' clock, and would say everybody better be here, and from men would answer 'At 7.30?'"

Goodwin (1980a) observed the boys and girls play groups and noted down that the boys used different types of directive from the girls. They are more tended to use bald imperatives whereas the girls tended to use forms like "let's and why don't we".

The form "let's" is hardly used by boys, it explicitly includes the speaker in the proposed action. Maltz and Borker hypothesize, boys learn to use language to create and maintain dominance and hierarchies and the girls create horizontal ties through their words and negotiate shifting alliances in their mainly single sex peer group.

2.1(h) Difference according to class

To understand language in our society, one has to read and understand the trap of social networks in which language is embedded. Class and occupation are most significant linguistic markers which are found in our society. One of the fundamental findings of socio linguistics is that it has been more difficult to disprove the theory that class and language variety are not related. Members of the working class usually speak less standard language, while the lower middle and upper middle class will tend to speak language closer to the standard. However, the upper class, even members of the upper middle class, may often speak (less) standard language than the middle class. Because class has significant role but aspirations play a key role in it.

2.1(i) Class Aspirations

Those studies such as made by William Labov in the 1960 have revealed that social aspirations influence speech patterns. The same is true of class aspirations. In the process of wishing to be closer or linked to a certain class such as upper class and upper middle class, people who are moving in that direction will socio-economically adjust their speech patterns to sound like them.

However, being not a native of upper class speakers, they correct and end up speaking in a more standard language than those who usually are trying to imitate. The same happens in the case of individuals moving down ward in socio- economic status.

With the advent of quantitative sociolinguistic studies that include female speakers who often tend to speak more prestigious form than their opposite sex. The pattern is revealed by Labov's New York city study (1972 a Trudgill's Norwich survey 1974 b); Macaulay's (1977, 1978) study of Glosgow English, New brook's (1982) study of west wirral, and Romaine's (1978) Edinburgh study and is summed up by Coats (following Coats, 1986, pp. 65-6)who reveals that in every styles, women are accustomed to using fewer stigmatized forms than men Formally, they are more sensitive than men. Lower class women make significant shift in style; they use a high proportion of the stigmatized variant, Formally, women correct themselves in speech corresponding to class which is above them. Use of non-standard form seems to be associated with working class speakers, and also with male speakers.

This kind of evidence reveals that women are more sensitive to linguistic norms than males as is concluded by Trudgill's self evolution test.(1972, 1974b).

According to sociolinguistic research, non-standard speech typically functions to maintain group identity. Another explanation is possible that males tend to belong to close-knit groups while females do not tend to do so .Males have greater access to membership of such groups than females because they are exposed and have greater access to work and to evening activities outside the home.

As far as differences in syntax, morphology and pronunciation are concerned both gender differ in terms of communicative

strategies. Whenever men and women converse, men tend to make interruptions very frequently and are very slow to provide supporting responses to women's speech turns. On the contrary, women use more facilitative tags (Lakoff, 1975; Holmes, 1984) than men which help a conversation to move along smoothly. They also use more yes/no questions which, of course, help to keep a conversation going.

Men generally talk much more than women (Bernard, 1972, Swacker, 1975 Eakins and Eakins, 1978). This clearly contradicts the old and popular belief that women talk more than men, and the reason behind this is that men are expected by the culture in general, to talk while women are expected to remain silent. That is why when women talk, it is more noticeable that men also talk.

When women talk to other women, the term 'gossip' is often used to describe their activity and this term is loaded with negative connotation in popular parlance. However in anthropology and sociolinguistics, no negative connotations are attached to the term 'gossip' which is used to denote informal communication between members of a social group.

Gossip has the important function of maintaining the group unity and preserving morals and values which characterize women's way of interacting in conversation. It is a kind of interaction that reflects solidarity and support and in which expressions intended to reflect or gain power for a speaker have no place.

These gender related differences in speech patterns are acquired by children as they learn to speak, just like other gender stereotypes (how boys should behave and how girls should behave) and culture values are learnt along with language in general way.

2.1(j) Topic Control

When talking to woman, men seem to use not only interruptions, overlaps and delayed minimal responses but also deny women the right to control the topic of conversation. Men disobey the normal turn taking rules in order to control topics. Control of topics is normally shared equally between participants in a conversation. In conversation between speakers of the same sex, this seems to be the pattern, but when one speaker is male and another female, male speaker tends to dominate.

2.1(k) Hedge

Females use more hedged-form-structures like "you know", sort of, just as is brought out by Fishman (1980) who taped the daily conversations of three American couples and found out that the women used , you know , 5 times more than men.

2.1(l) Verbosity

There is a widespread belief in our society that women talk more than men, yet research findings consistently contradict this. Men have been shown to talk more than women in every context and setting.

There is a common cultural stereotype which describes women as being talkative, always speaking and expressing their feelings. This is probably true. However, do women do it more than men? No! Infact an observation designed to measure the amount of speech produced suggests that men are more prone to use up more talking time than women. An experiment by Marjorie Swaeker entailed using three pictures by a fifteenth century Flemish artist, Albrecht Durer which were presented to men and women separately. They were told to take as much time as they wanted to

describe the pictures. The average time taken by males was 13.0 minutes while it was 3.17 minutes in case of women.

Sociolinguists try to make the connection between our society and our language in a way that suggests that women talk less because it has not always been as culturally acceptable as it has been for men. Men have tended to take a more dominant role not only in the household, but also in the world of business. This ever-changing concept is becoming less applicable in our society, however, the trend is still prominent in some societies across the world. It is more acceptable for a man to be talkative, carry on long conversation, or give a long wordy speech, however it is less acceptable for a woman to do so. It has been a historical truth that men have more rights to talk. However, it is common for men to be more silent in situations.

2.2 Taboo language

The folk linguistic belief that men swear more than women and use more taboo words in general. Flexner claims that 'most American' slangs are created and used by males.

Deborah Cameron's latest book "The myth of Mars and Venus" tries to breakdown gender stereotypes. She tells time and again about real life, "I don't think there is a need of Mars and Venus theory. We are not alien beings from different planets. There is a need of constant hearing men and women talk, and making note of exaggerations. It's not true that men and women use language in completely different ways.

Look around you. Do men and women speak the same language? If they do, why don't they understand each other? There are many theories about men and women's language use. Women talk more than men. In fact, latest research reveals language skills of men and women are identical. The theory that women talk much

more has been debunked by science. The Guardian reports a recent study in the American journal of science that asserts that men and women speak almost exactly the same number of words a day i.e. 16,000. Men are emotionally stunted, thick and selfish without having any awareness. Are women the smarter species? "Given similar intelligence, women are more articulate and more aware than men. They can use words that have multivalent meanings and nuances, which they utilize with more fluidity, women always win on agreement, just accept that; it makes life easier."

"The new feminine brain is as equipped with real life situations as the male brain" that is said by a media expert Akhila Shivdas of Centre of media Advocacy, Delhi. "The female brain can multi-task, it cannot filter or shed, women carry baggage. While the male brain is focused, they do one thing at a time, yet, they have many micro-conflicts".

So, what's the essential reason for misunderstanding between the two genders? "Misunderstandings arise because language is not mind reading. Even if we know someone well, we would not understand them perfectly every time. Some- sex couples also have misunderstanding and conflicts. Conflicts which are described as "communication problems are a smokescreen: The real problem is that the people involved do not want the same thing," adds Cameron.

Most research studies ask the questions, "is there a difference between men and women?" says director Meghna Gulzar, "The difference is just in the mind. I think humans have a male/female brain. If a man is sensitive, his female side of brain is more alert, while if a women is aggressive, her male brain is more alert. Men in my films have been very utopian, because I show them to be compassionate, honest and emotional."

The war between sexes is sometimes nothing but power play. Women are still the second sex; they are too caring. There will always be gender politics in relationship.

There are two types of explanations that account for this phenomenon

1. First, so-called linguistic insecurity
2. Second, the role of women's in child rearing.

The first one "linguistic insecurity" claims that women initiate the prestigious and more standardized language of the social classes in terms of becoming more prestigious and powerful themselves. Initially this explanation was more advanced as a way of explaining not merely women's usage patterns but also the usage patterns in the same studies of the lower middle class, which "hypercorrect" its language, emulating linguistic features of the middle class in terms of gaining social prestige (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1972). The men's language, in this way is linked to a working affiliation, although the women's language rises upward across the class of sociolinguistic strata that reflects their social and linguistic insecurity.

The second one is the "role of women's in child rearing". Since in most of the societies women are responsible for taking care of their children, researchers have theorized that women would tend to improve their children's prospects from their exposing the most prestigious language possible, and then, that children would co-opt this prestigious input as the normal distribution for their social class and they will carry succeeding generation of girls would co-opt higher and higher strata of linguistic behavior, and it would gradually but surely propel language change. But this explanation has difficulty in accounting for the speech of many women who are not involved in or oriented toward child rearing in any significant

way. Both explanations tend to try to forging a simple link between a wide of language and gender across a wide range of situations although it's avoiding the possibility which other social factors as such ethnic identity and workplace intereactions might play a crucial role in shaping the language use of women and men in a given speech community.

2.3 Language and Power

The influential study of language features is presented by Lakoff in a book "Language and women's place (1975) which makes her proud of herself as a catalyst for women's language use. She conveys in her book that women deny strong self expression. On the one hand they are ridiculed if they don't learn a language like a girl, but on the other a women's language is seen as weak and concerned with the trivial.

Lakoff has described the features of women's language in terms of precise colour terms e.g. mauve, instead of purple) weak expletives (e.g. oh dear vs. Shit), empty adjectives, (e.g. darling, adorable), the tag question (e.g. it's late, isn't it?) and also the words of polite speech (e.g. would you please close the door? Vs close the door). But Lakoff's specific claims about "women language usage" have not been served as satisfactory catalyst and it has been modified. Many of the studies show that both men and women make abundant use of tag questions although it is not essentially the same type of tag question (Cameron et al. 1989). This is manifested that Lakoff's interpretation of tag questions is simplistic and does not explain that all the tag questions convey uncertainty or inability to present oneself strongly. Some of the tag questions simply encourage further conservations (e.g. nice day, isn't it?) while other type of tag questions might be quite powerful

and even threatening (e.g. prosecutor to defendant: you shot Chris, didn't you?)

Some of the studies have claimed that in cross sex conversations, men interrupt women more frequently than their counterpart of women who interrupt men. However, many of the studies have found out no significant difference between men and women in the number of interruptions. The crucial difficulty which arises in studying interruptions is determined when they occur and what they mean. As the tag questions, interruptions can have several functions. All the interruptions can not be meant to attempt dominance on the floor of conversations. For instance, some interruptions are simply our lapses in speakers' turns and some of the interruptions are attained by both speaker and interrupter to be collaborative and supportive of the conversation. There is a difficulty to reach any conclusion about this particular potential manifestation of power in conversational interruptions because there is no precise way to determine when interruption is infact a violation of a speaker's turn.

On the other hand, women interpret minimal responses as an indication that the interlocutor is listening while the men interpret it as an indication of agreement. Therefore the result is to be in an unintentional misunderstanding in which women think men aren't listening to them and men think women are arguing with everything they say.

Maltz and Borker propose that these different assumptions about the language use are acquired by them from the school stage from 5-15 years. When interactions are focused on the same-sex peer groups. In these play groups' sex differences are exaggerated. One side i.e., of girls learns to use language by establishing emotional intimacy while the other side of boys learns to use

language to establish status in a social hierarchy. There are, however other ways in which girls and boys might acquire sex differentiated language. They can be told explicitly how to speak (e.g. girls don't say that!); they can observe adults interacting with each other, they can observe how adults talk to girls and boys differently (e.g. adults tend to interrupt girls more), and they can observe how adults respond differently to boys and girls (e.g. assertive boys tend to receive positive responses).

One significant problem with the different sub-cultural approach is that this does not allow the possibilities that an individual might be aware of communicative behavior and interpretations other than his own, and then he might choose to use those behaviors and interpretations in certain setting for example, if a man involved in a romantic relationship may have "sweet talk" with his partner, that is he may employ expressive "rapport building" conversational strategies such as minimal responses and frequent questions. Doing so he demonstrates competency in the linguistic behavior of the so called women's subculture, when it is to his advantage to do so. Another problem is this that power differences do exist between men and women (and between other social groups as well), and often cultural differences are called to maintain these power differences.

Language as a tool of transmission of cultural beliefs and values plays a major role in affecting male and female relations. The attitude which is transmitted through language may help either to reinforce the status-quo or may act as a factor in changing it. It is possible to argue that the belief that standard language has been transmitting since the 18th century that males are species, and females are the sub-species thus making it possible that males should dominate. The main feature of language usage generally

mentioned in support of this argument is the use of male terms to refer to both the males in particular and human being in general. Such relation designates man as the "unmarked" and women as the "marked" human category. It has also been noticed that gender biased job advertisements attract fewer female applicants than unbiased ads.

Martyna (1983.p.31) found that women use the generic 'the' less often than men and more frequently turned to alternatives like 'he' or "She" or "they" whenever required. Several strategies suggested for avoiding the use of generic masculine pronouns are: Drop the masculine form for example, we will hire the best person regardless of his sex. Instead of using "his" we should call speak it like this we will hire the best person regardless of sex.

The notion of man as the "unmarked" and women as "marked" category is also reflected in pair of words distinguishing gender sex. For instance, the masculine terms ('kutta' and 'sher' are considered) as natural whereas feminine counterparts "kutiya" and "sherni" are semantically considered the marked ones. The generic terms are usually referred to the species as a whole human kind and the use of such term is generally justified on this ground that everybody knows in generalization that is being referred to includes females. Neither claim appears to stand up to scrutiny. This exhibits that the generic terms are semantically in favour of males that is, it makes user think predominantly of males.

The effect of the use of generic masculine is held to be that women are often being made invisible by the language, that is, the language has only a negative semantic space for women.

Further more, this is easy to find evidence in support of the claim that women are seen through language, they are often seen in an unfavorable light. Indeed, the term "aurat" in itself has

negative connotation in most of the cultures. In spite of this "Khatoon" taking a most favourable connotation. There are very favorable rules that how a "khatoon" should behave and talk.

The theory of maleness which includes features of manhood such as courage, strength, toughness, vigour, rationality, whereas the theory of femaleness includes tenderness and emotionality. Further more, men are judged by dint of their work yet women are assessed according to their appearances including language.

Suppose, if a girl does not learn the quality of speaking like a girl, then she will be pressurized to use language like a girl. For example if girl says "mein nahi khaunga" or mein nahi jata" if she says *ga* and *ta* in place of *gi* and *ti* then she will be pressurized to learn to use language like a girl and if she does not learn to speak like a girl then she will be denied the access to power because she is not capable of holding it. Therefore, they are linguistically alienated simply women don't have that supernatural power that men have.

However, it will be very un-usual to hear statement that women are professionally able to combine their professional standing and ability with an undeniable femininity. Because of the fact that it is unlike that anyone would remark on a man's ability to combine professionalism with masculinity. The language also bears traces of cultural norms of women as housewives and men as workers outside the home.

Therefore, "Kaamkaaji Khatoon" or Kaamkaaji biwi" are more likely to occur than "Kaamkaaji Shauhar" or Kaakkaaji Waalid".

It is very easy to unearth the linguistic evidences supporting the agreement that those qualities which are assigned to males are held in higher esteem then those being assigned to females.

2.4 Dominance versus subjection

This suggests a dichotomy between a male desire for conversational dominance that is noted by Leet- Pellegrini (1980) with reference to male experts speaking more verbosely than their female counterparts and a female aspiration for group conversational participation. One corollary of this is that according to coats (1993; 202) males are afforded more attentions in the classroom context and this may lead to their gaining more attention in scientific and also technical subjects, which in turn may lead to their achieving better success in those areas which ultimately enable them to have more power in technocratic society. Women, however, on average have higher verbal intelligence than men.

2.5 Changing the topic of conversations

Dorval States (1990) in this study of same-sex friend interactions that males tend to change subject more oftenly than females. This difference may allow then to chatter and talk too much, and may still trigger the same thinking in same males. In this way estimations of women may go up. Incidentally, this endro-centric attitude towards scientific subjects, which in turn may lead to their achieving better success in those areas which ultimately allows than to have more power in a technocratic society. Women, however on average have higher verbal intelligence than men.

2.6 Women derogatory term for men

Generally, women in our society have been seen as a putative part of the life. They mostly perform all rituals duties and they are more caring than men. Therefore their language is also considered prestigious as the most researchers regard women's language suggests that women are socially and linguistically conservative and therefore they are likely to use more standard forms. They are a sign of politeness, they are not only expressions of uncertainty but

also hyper-correct form. Risch (189) has listed the use of derogatory terms which women use to refer to men. But women are prone to the use of standard form of speech, therefore the distinction between standard and nonstandard form is more appropriately applied to the contrast between public versus private discourse than that of the speech pattern of women versus men.

Lakoff (1973a, 1975) makes useful reference to the euphemistic use of the term (Lady) that men use to refer to women. The term "lady" seems too polite; men can make covertly insulting use of reference to women. If 'Lady' is signified as "lesbian" then it has pejorative sense. In the same way a man can have worse connotation. A bachelor and a spinster both refer to the unmarried person. But bachelor is seen as probably being unmarried by choice and living a happy and libertine life, while a spinster having an image of an old and unappealing woman living a drab and unfulfilled life because of her failure to marry.

Likewise a madam might be the manager of a brothel but you could never call a pimp a "sir" because "sir" is an individual having great ability. Similarly the English word 'house wife' which means the female head of the family" but gradually it has deteriorated. Today, it means "a rustic rude woman" and finally it has come to mean "a lewd brazen woman".

Dell Hymes points out that men have lots of overtly derogatory terms for referring to women but for women, it is not possible to refer to men in an overtly derogatory manner. Such a set of derogatory terms is considered taboo; perhaps such behaviour is not permissible in women's language.

Women, generally are seen more sensitive to the social connotation than men and they restrain themselves from using the nonstandard forms of speech. Non standard forms are seen, to be

associated with male forms having rough and tough ability. Taking into account the perceptual defuse and the assumption that women are more status conscious than their counterparts , men. Women would be more inhibited about the production of linguistic taboos but unlikely to use them. Particularly those who belong to working class, they are less restrained by the prestige forms of speech and therefore more likely to use non-standard form. But the question is whether they are young, middle and an old age women. The same is said about the higher and upper higher class women, they are also less constrained by the prestigious form of speech.

2.7 Language and Sex: A case of Double Standards

Works that deals with the subject of language relating to sex are often contradictory. Males are rather prejudiced against females and look at them from double standards. On the other hand women are looked upon as conservative and for that reason they are praised for upholding and preserving certain traditional forms of language, but on the other they are criticized and disparaged for hindering innovations in language development. This fluctuating attitude of men towards women accounts to male dominance and is brought out by men's judgement of women's pronunciation and spellings. To some men, women are poor spellers whereas there are others who commend women for their good pronunciation and spellings. There are certain legendary theories that heighten the gap between 'I' and 'We' segregate women from men and push them aside from men's discourse.

Men often equates women's language with contradiction and irrationality. They consider women as incapable of improving upon their expressions. They find no streak of novelty in their conversation for they are to the use of conventional form of language.

According to certain myths women must adhere to social behaviour in matters of conversation. They have to follow standards set for them

by men . They are not expected to deviate from the previously accepted social norms which require them to be passive and is maintain absolute silence while men talk in the society. This view is strengthened by Harriel Lane(1922) who advises women to observe absolute silence in the presence of men.

Double standard attitude towards women is further evidenced even by a cursory look at their position in society all through the ages.

There was a time when they were nothing short of a goddess. They were highly respected and their presence at religious ritual was considered indispensable . Then the glories of their exalted status gradually diminished with the passage of time and suffered an eclipse over the years. Consequently they lost their importance in society and came to be looked upon as an object of sex and libido. They were not allowed either to learn or speaks Sanskrit language because of its association with religion . We have come to know from the Medieval Indian Drama that even the women of high rank and most respectable family were not allowed to speak Sanskrit.

They were restrained from participating religious ritual. They were also prohibited from learning Sanskrit. They could conduct conversation only in the language of lower class people. It shows that social stratification and sex discrimination against women was very much rife in these days. Even today the rate of literacy among women is considerably low (lower than man). This is because girls are not given as much freedom as boys in pursuance of their studies. The primary role of girls is restricted to looking after household chores and to rearing children .

Tolkappiyan refers to restrictions that are usually imposed upon women's way of conversation. To her women are required to keep silent when male members of the family discuss important matters about the day to day life. Women are supposed to take part into conversation that goes around their family. They talk about subjects which are dear to

them. While men usually make a parade of their learning during the course of their talk. Women's speech is considered highly pernicious. This is brought out by Camden who narrates an episode that occurred in the 5th century when the Celtic British having been driven away from their motherland by Germans, cut the tongues of women whom they married on the way for fear that they might corrupt the language of their children.

Women were not treated on par with men in matters of conversation. They had to confine them to use language that was permissible for them to transact conversation with their friends. A departure from conversation norms was allowed to woman not in the least. Men considered women's language beneath them.

Although Max Muller believes that women have an important role to play in language development, he prohibits them from participating in public conversation. In spite of all this he is appreciative of women's language for it has an aura of their domestic idioms and jargons.

2.8 Stereotypes attached to the differences

There are several stereotypes attached to the gender differences which range from linguistic to extra linguistic considerations. As part of these stereotypes, women are admonished to suffer in silence and the penalties for failing to heed these instructions are severe.

2.8(a) Effeminate Language

Berstein states that all the forms of aggressive assertive, hostile and vigorous language are defined as acceptable for men and are placed under taboo for women. Men mostly tend to avoid those forms which sound like feminine or weak. For example (oh dear, goodness). They use strong expletives such as (damn, shit) but the Lakoff (1975) evidence about weak or strong expletives is purely impressionistic.

The language of males is considered as abstract, rational and creative while the language of female is considered as emotional, practical receptive and concrete.

Lakoff's (1975) theories suggest that females use language that is passive, indicating shyness and lower self-confidence (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003). In other context, studies have found that females use language that is polite, appreciative & cooperative (Herring, 2000, 2001; Savicki, 1996). By contrast, males use language that is more confident, more aggressive and less concerned with politeness (Herring, 2000, 2001).

In today's study, males do use language that is more active, inflexible, and resolute, which resonates with some of Susan Herring's findings for other modes also. Female, however, do not use more passive, cooperative, or accommodating language as Lakoff's work has suggested. One possible implication is that language and the social interactions on the internet are changing, perhaps because the participants are changing. That is the latest wave of teenage females. At least females may have different gender roles from those of earlier generations that Lakoff observed and alternately, choose to create less traditional waves in their gender roles than the general population.

The language of females in study echoes Michelle Rodino's (1997) claim that comparing language on the internet to traditional gender and language studies is often over simplification because online interactions offer more freedom and flexibility. While males may use more active and resolute language in comparison with their females counterparts. Females do not necessarily use passive or accommodating language. The latter findings support the concept of androgyny where masculinity and femininity are two separate

dimensions rather than being polar opposites on a single continuum (Huston, 1983).

There are differences and similarities between both male and female communication. It is stressed that there are subtle and judgmental consequences. Such consequences, to be noted can be seen in the way that female speakers are rated higher on socio-intellectual status and aesthetic quality while males are rated higher on dynamism.

"Status" is also designated in this power scheme. In much of the "women's language" traits such as politeness and raising the ends of sentences are found more in the language of high-status individuals. "Women's language" seems to be more often used when individuals are unemployed, or that have lower jobs than well-educated people and professionals (O' Barr & Atkins, 1980). Subordinates share higher rates of speech associated with women rather than they use their managers language. Single male parents use language which is similar to single mothers. It is recognized then, that language is not just a matter of gender dominance, but goes hand-in-hand with status as well.

Therefore sex differences become exceedingly complex, particularly in a society in which the women era is moving fast towards self realization. Their position has drastically changed for experiencing the roles and ideologies of the life which develops the ways for men and women for experiencing the culture and society. Hence language variation based on sex may not always be adequate which can be accounted for in terms of binary position.

2.8(b) Emotive language

Havelock Ellis (1894) considers language of males as abstract, rational, and creative while the language of females is considered to be emotional, practical, receptive and concrete.

2.8(c) Refined Language

Edward T. Hall (1986) presumes that women are more concerned with refinement in language than men. There are certain expressions which may be attributed to women as part of their use of refined language. For example, the distinction between 'can' and 'may' in which the former denotes "ability" while the latter taken denotes 'permission'. Hall attributes to women the usage distraction maintained between can and may and opines that men and boys use 'can' while women and girls use 'may'.

2.8(d) Phonetic Stereotype

Jonathan Swift (1955) in an experiment asked a number of males and females to write a series of non-sense words and found out that men used more consonants while the women used more vowels and liquids and produced a string that resembled Italian.

Benajah Jay Antrim (1843) assumes that vowels are feminine because they are soft and delicate and consonants are masculine because they are more harsh and irregular. (Baron 1986)

SECTION-3

3.1 *Linguistic setting of the Urdu speech community*

Any language can be used for any purpose. Although languages are not empty vessels, they carry a lot of baggage in the form of cultural and literary heritage, e.g. concepts, collective, memories etc. Any language whether it is Urdu or any other language, it is widely understood as a symbol of the religious and cultural identity of its speakers. A large corpus of theological

writings, guide books and manuals for Indian Muslims have been produced in Urdu since the nineteenth century.

Besides, Urdu is by no means the mother tongue of the majority of Indian Muslims. It is rather, the language of an urban elite. In a simplified way, however, it does serve as a common link between speakers of different languages and dialects. This view is largely supported by a rich popular culture of Urdu, newspapers, journals, digests, novels and oral communication. Though, it is often understood that Urdu media seems more orthodox and conservative section of our society, it is also to be noted that much liberal, even socialist or Marxist, writings are to be found in Urdu.

Historically Urdu belongs to an Indo-Aryan branch, belonging to Indo-European family of languages. It developed under the influence of Persian and Arabic, to some lesser degree also under Turkish influence in South Asia during the Delhi Sultanate and Mughal Empire. Urdu refers to a standardized register of Hindustani which is known as Khadiboli. It has now emerged as a standard dialect. In general, the term "Urdu" can encompass a dialect of Hindustani other than standardized version. Standard Urdu has approximately the twentieth part i.e., the largest chunk of population of native speakers among all the languages. There are 60.503, 579 people who speak Urdu language in the world as a whole. Urdu is often contrasted with Hindi, another standardized form of Hindustani. The main difference between Hindi and Urdu is that standard Urdu is written in Nastaliq calligraphy style of the Perso-Arabic script and some words are taken from Persian and Arabic. While standard Hindi is written in Devangari and has inherited significant vocabulary from Sanskrit.

Linguists therefore consider Urdu and Hindi as the two standardized forms of the same language. Hindi and Urdu are the

fifth most widely spoken language in the world. However, Urdu and Hindi are socio-politically different and people who describe themselves as being speakers of Hindi would question their being counted as native speakers of Urdu and Vice-versa. In India, Urdu is spoken in Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, MP, AP, Karnatak, Bihar, Gujrat, Maharashta and some other states. A great number of schools teach Urdu as a first language and have their own syllabus and examination system. In India, Madarsahs also teach Arabic as well as Urdu. India has more than 2,900 Urdu newspapers. Outside South Asia, it is spoken by large numbers of people in the major urban centers of the Persian Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia.

It shares official language status with English in Jammu and Kashmir. It is used in education, literature, office and court business, media and in religious institutions. Although English is used in most elite circles, yet Urdu is the lingua franca in North India and is expected to prevail as such. Urdu is also one of the officially recognized state languages in India and has official status in the Indian states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir and Uttar Pradesh, and the national capital, Delhi, while the government school system in most other states emphasizes standard Hindi, yet at several universities and in many cities such as Lucknow, Aligarh and Hyderabad, Urdu is spoken, learned, and recognized as a language of prestige.

Urdu can be considered to be a part of a dialect continuum which extends across eastern Iran, Afghanistan, and Modern Pakistan right into North India. It has four recognizable dialects i.e. Dakhini, Pinjari, Rekhta, and Modern vernacular Urdu (based on the Khariboli dialect of the Delhi region). Modern vernacular Urdu is the form of the language that is least wide spread and is spoken around Delhi, Lucknow, Karachi and Lahore. It has become increasingly

different from the original form of Urdu as it loses some of the complicated Persian and Arabic vocabulary used in everyday business terms. Dakhini is spoken in and around Hyderabad. It has fewer Persian and Arabic words than standard Urdu. In addition, Rekhta the language of Urdu poetry is sometimes counted as a separate dialect.

In states like Uttar Pradesh, Urdu culture and literature have a very rich heritage. The education system can develop teaching of Urdu at infant, primary and secondary school levels to ensure that it is not marginalized, and the teaching of Urdu in the mainstream school would offer a status in this country and especially to the people who belong to Urdu speech community. Urdu as a language has made immense contribution to literature, academic subjects, trade and commerce. Urdu speakers have an immense contribution to make to all aspects of life in India.

“Hindustani” is the term used by linguists to describe several closely related idioms in the northern, central and northwestern part of the *Indian subcontinent*. It encompasses two standardized registers in the form of the official languages of Hindi and Urdu language, as well as several nonstandard dialects. Because Hindustani is not an immediate descendent of Sanskrit, the origin of common Hindustani words can be obscured. Standard or Shuddha (‘pure’) Hindi and Urdu are used only in public address and radio or TV news, while the everyday spoken language in most areas is one of several varieties of Hindustani, whose vocabulary contains words drawn from Persian, Arabic and Hindi. In addition spoken Hindustani includes words from English and other languages as well.

Hindustani or Hindi-Urdu has developed over hundreds of years throughout India. In the same way as the core vocabulary of English evolved from old English (Anglo-Saxon) but includes a large

number of words borrowed from French and other languages (whose pronunciation has changed naturally so as to become easier for speakers of English to pronounce). The same may be said of Hindustani, that has evolved from Sanskrit while borrowing many Persian and Arabic words over the years, and changing the pronunciations (and often even the meanings) of those words to make them easier for Hindustani speakers to pronounce. Therefore, Hindustani is a language that has evolved organically.

3.2 The district Aligarh

The district Aligarh, comprising the northernmost part of the Agra division, lies in the doab of the Ganga and the Yamuna. Bound by these two rivers, it spreads across the short distance. Ganga separates the district from Budayun for a few kms. In the extreme northeast while Yamuna constitutes the dividing line in the North West between Aligarh and Gurgaon, district of Haryana. To the north, the boundary is formed by the Anupshahar and Khurja tehsils of Bulanshahar. On the west and south-west, the district stretches out as far as Chhata, Mat and Sadabad tehsils of Mathura district while on the south-east and eastward there lie Jalesar, Etah and Kasganj tehsils of Etah district. The extreme parallels of latitude are 27°28' and 28°10' north and of longitude 77°29' and 78°36' east. The greatest breadth is about 112 kms. From the Yamuna to the Ganga nearing the northern border the maximum length from north to south is about 72 kms.

Total area of the district is 5019 sq. kms. The district headquarters is located at Aligarh. Main languages spoken in the district are Hindi and Urdu. The remaining languages are quite unimportant, since they are merely the native tongues of immigrants, such as Gujrati, Bengali, Punjabi, and English.

Several news papers and magazines are published in Urdu from Aligarh . They are of more than local importance.

The Khatoon, Khana Khazana and other related Urdu magazines occupying a high position to promote female education.

Language contact and language is a common result of day to day conversion. Rahman (2002) notes the acceptance of Urdu by Islamic scholars as a language in which Islam could be disseminated. Today, there is no need to preserve their own language, for their interest has shifted to English.

Religion is also an important contributing factor in language maintenance and loss. Language and religion continued to be closely associated. Older Catholics, especially women, typically speak Portuguese, younger Catholics speak English, Hindus use Portuguese and preferring Konkani or English. People who use Portuguese for family or social occasions tend to use English for business.

The unfavorable fact is that however, today Urdu in Indian society is losing its cultural charms, and is becoming a matter of neglect to its native speakers. They can not be blamed for it because they have suffered a lot of underdevelopment and misfortune due to the global ascendancy of English in the field of communication. So, over the years the people who worked towards progress, had no other choice but to adopt English consequently and Urdu has gone into the background and over the years it has come to be overlooked. But it is still used in novels that make up the exemplary works of literature on the theatre cinema and also on the aesthetic of poetry.

There are commonality and particularity of social attitudes or the dynamic nature of similarities and differences in multifaceted thought structures among cultural spheres, and such multifaceted thought structures and cultural spheres contribute to the expansion of basic knowledge thereby providing a means of coping with and working reduction of pressing cultural and social problem caused by the increasing complexity of contemporary society and the diversification of values. It is not merely speculative but rational, it has a scientific and material character which renders it applicable in real life situations.

3.3 Profile of Urdu

Now we want to discuss the historical background of Urdu and its origin and evolution. In short, ““Urdu is one of the Indo-Aryan Languages which has developed from Sanskrit through Khari Boli and Saurseni Prakrit. The development of Urdu took place after 1000 A.D. which marks the end of Apabhramsa Period.”” (Kelkar: 1968).

“There were certain political and socio-cultural influences which favored and prepared background for the evolution of Urdu in India, Its proper development started, only when Muslim entered Delhi from Punjab in 1193 A.D., and made the city capital of their empire. It has adopted certain elements from Arabic and Persian languages, example phonological features, grammatical features and a considerable part of lexicon.”” (Beg: 1986)

Urdu is closely related to Hindi in phonology and grammar. As a language of “mixed” background, Urdu manifests problems of diversity at various structural levels, phonology of which requires a special treatment as it has socio-linguistic and socio-cultural implications. Urdu is not just a language specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution; it is widely used in India. Its speakers are spread over a number of states in India including Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and far off states like Karnataka and Maharashtra. It

is the state language of Jammu and Kashmir in India whereas it is Pakistan's official language. In **Manorama Yearbook** it is recorded that Urdu is spoken by more than twenty-eight million people in India.

Urdu employs the Perso-Arabic script. It has produced extensive literature. Its idioms fascinate even those who know it marginally. One obvious reason for this is the rich and glorious past of Urdu. Urdu has assimilated words from Arabic, Persian and Turkish apart from a large number of words from English and other languages (Kelkar: 1968: 20).

Urdu basically is a Khadi Boli Idiom which developed in the North India especially in and around Delhi by the end of the twelfth century A.D. This was the time when due to the settlement of Muslims comprising Turks, Afghans and Iranians; and establishment of the Muslim rule in Delhi, certain socio-political, cultural and linguistic changes were taking place in North India. It was during this period that Khadi Boli came under the influence of new linguistic and cultural forces and eventually became a full-fledged language called "Urdu". Though the structure of Urdu is purely Indo-Aryan, its vocabulary is largely derived from Persian and Arabic and it is written in an "adaptation" of the Perso-Arabic script. (Beg: 1986)

Hindi, which is mutually intelligible with Urdu on the colloquial level, uses the Devanagari writing system and derives its formal *vocabulary* from Sanskrit. Hindi also imbibes rich literary traditions of dialects such as Braj Bhasha, Awadhi, etc. It has developed into Khadi Boli style at a very late stage, i.e , at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Even Dharendra Verma, an eminent Hindi scholar and linguist, admits that "historically, Khadi Boli Urdu in its usage is much older than the literary Khadi Boli Hindi.

"It is interesting to note that during the early phases of the Muslim settlement, anything indigenous to India was termed by the Muslim settlers as "Hindi" (Hind+i). The word Hind meaning "India", comes from the Persian language, and the suffix -i which is transcribed in the Persian alphabet as ya-i-ma''ruf is a grammatical marker meaning "relating to". The word Hindi, thus, meant 'relating/belonging to India' or the 'Indian native'. This language is called as 'the Khadi Boli style of Urdu'. (Beg: 1986)

The same Khadi Boli style of Urdu is termed by P.B.Pandit's in **India as a Sociolinguistic Area** (Pandit .1977: 57) as 'the Northern Lingua Franca'. In course of its development, the Khadi Boli style of Urdu was known by various names such as Rekhta, Zaban-i-Delhi, Zaban-i-Dehlavi, Zaban-i-Hindustan, Hindustan, Hindustani, Zaban-i-Urdu-i-Mu'alla, Urdu-i-Mu'alla, Zaban-i-Urdu or simply Urdu, besides being known as Hindi or Hindavi (Hindawi). In a hierarchical patterning of speech variation, no single variety can be associated with the dominant role of a standard language appropriate for all members of the speech community at all times and on all occasion; high Hindi and high Urdu are spoken in formal setting, and "bazaar Hindustani" is identified with informal interaction. (Khubchandani: 1997: 170).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Section-4

Research Methodology

The aim of the present investigation is the study of the language variations at the gender level. It is a socio- linguistic investigation of language varieties used by women among the Urdu speech community of District Aligarh. Therefore to fulfill this demand a difference between female speech and male speech has been worked out in relation to age and socio-economic status from socio linguistic perspective. It is a comparative study between female to female speech and female to male speech.

4.1 Sample

Initially a sample of 50 females and 50 males were selected for the study, which have been divided on the basis of age. In terms of age , three groups have been considered , namely age group 1 from 20 -25 yrs, age group 2 from 26-35 yrs and age group 3 from 36-65 yrs and over. In terms of socioeconomic status, informants have been grouped under upper socio-economic status (USES) and middle socio-economic status (MSES). Finally twenty-five females and twenty-five males were selected for the data collections.

4.2 Selection of Informants

The present study has drawn data from 100 informants living in and around Aligarh District. The technique used for data collection involved both questionnaire and interview.

4.3 Procedure

The data was collected in two phases. In the first phase, prior to approaching the respondents we had approached the teachers of the class and explained the purpose of this investigation. The investigator was subsequently introduced to the students in order to ensure students participation in the discourse. After the initial contact, the investigator frequently met the students outside their class room hours with a view to become friendlier with the participants. In the first round of friendly interaction, information pertaining to their name, class, parents name, occupations, income, language(s) known etc. were obtained on a biographical questionnaire . In the second phase, the investigator had approached those girls and boys who were identified as a representative of upper socio-economic status (USES) and middle socio-economic status (MSES) and frequency of interaction with them was further intensified. Through conversation and informal chat rapport was established with these respondents. Once the interaction had achieved the point of unreserved and uninhibited acceptance, the subjects were thereafter asked very general questions in order to elicit their speech to test their knowledge of mother tongue and interference of other languages people of. Data was also collected from the housewives, working class females and males of different age groups and socio-economic status. A list of phonological variants comprising /z/ /š/ /q/ /x/ /Ÿ/ was supplied in the form of text in order to see difference between males and females perception in terms of speech. A comparison between the occurrence of the phonological variants in question in the text and in the normal speech helped achieve both the formal and informal styles of language use.

Topics related to social problems such as gulf war, riots in Aligarh, and entertainment related to Hindi movies and dramas were presented before the respondents in small group situations. This was done to know the respondents awareness of the topic as well as to get acquainted with them. Although these topics were of general nature, the specific topics were given to both females and males depending upon their ages hobbies and social status. The information regarding the hobby was accrued from the questionnaire.

4.4 Tools for data collection

Data obtained on the basis of discussion were recorded through tape-recorder. In the beginning the speech was recorded with the hidden tape-recorder so that the informantss may not be conscious. Later on when the rapport was fully established there was no need to hide the tape-recorder. We approached them in workplaces, and homes according to their convenience.

Since some of the respondents were engaged in the discussion on certain other topics, those discussions were also recorded. Besides tape-recorder, the investigator had also made use of the field diary in which their variations in speech were carefully noted. The interaction recorded was both within sex and that of opposite sex also . The opposite sex interaction mostly revolved around the topics of general and wider interest like traumatic experience of the communal riots in Aligarh, Gulf crisis etc.

4.5 Data Collection

The data has been collected through a combination of techniques, with the help of tape recorder and field diary. These techniques include:

- 1) Questionnaire
- 2) Interviews
- 3) Anonymous observations
- 4) Field Diary

4.6 *Anonymous Observations*

While the preliminary calculation of correlation was made on the basis of text and words list production by the respondents, the investigator heavily used anonymous observations in order to authenticate the calculations and analysis. For achieving this, the investigator had to participate in religious addresses, speeches, academic lectures etc delivered by learned people. This was also complimented by the observation of each speaker in totally or relatively informal situations, e.g., when speakers were in rash, emotional or friendly moods. The investigator tried to observe all types of speakers including students, scholars, and office-goers, house –wives for the purpose of authenticity of data , the investigator had conversation with laborers, clerks, shopkeepers, etc. at as many places as was possible. Radio/Television news and other programmes were also referred to make comparisons between the speeches of elite and non-elite class, urban and rural and formal and informal contexts.

4.7 *The Survey Questionnaire*

The Survey Questionnaire was designed and structured to collect the most basic and general information about the speakers. The purpose of Survey Questionnaire is to classify the respondents in terms of the social background in which they are living. This has enabled the investigator to put various respondents into particular social classes.

4.8 The Field Diary

A field Diary was maintained throughout the study to systematically record the observations during the data collection. It is found that usually, there is no concordance between the actual uses of language and the attitudes towards one's usage. One speaker who produces and claims to use a particular form, starts using different form with a slight change in the social setting.

4.9 Validation of the Data

We have provided with quantitative validation for the qualitative analysis.

Section-5

Aim and scope of study

The present work is an attempt to investigate the differences between the speeches of women and men in Urdu speech community in Aligarh in relation to age and Socio-economic Status. It is a comparative study.

The present socio-linguistic analysis is limited in scope for the utilization of data only from Aligarh city. It is attempted to determine the relativity between language and social and cultural patterns in Urdu with special reference to the speech of Aligarh females/women. We have focused on those gender variations which are more common and frequent in female speech of the Aligarh Urdu speech community.

Chapter - 2

Phonological Variation

Chapter - 2

Gender variations at this level are encoded in different ways. We come across variations in the phonetic realization of single phoneme as well as in the combination of phonemes. In addition to segmental phonemes, we also find the variations in the prosodic features such as the tempo and the variations in pitch and loudness with which utterances are produced. As such the variations in intonation pattern has assumed the status of 'gender stereotype'. In all these aspects studies have been intensified in recent years. But for the present work, we have not carried out an exhaustive study of this issue.

At the phonological level, language is studied for its speech sound (or of gestures is the case of signed language) that constitutes linguistic form. The phonological system of a language is based upon a structural set of distinctions of sound (phonemes) and their characteristic patterns (for example in English the difference between the words like pick, thick, sick) and lies in the first phonemes /p/ /t/ /s/. Phonemes themselves do not carry meaning but they make distinctions in meaning. These distinctions are therefore based not on the actual quality of the phonemes but on the oppositions among phonemes for instance, the influential thing about English is that /p/ is distinct from /t/ and /s/ and the rest, and the actual phonetic quality of /b/ and /t/ may vary

considerably as long as the distinctions are preserved among these sounds and between the others. And it is the possibility for variation in the phonetic realization of a single phoneme in which gender can be embedded. While the phonological system, in itself carries no content, it is a potent resource for encoding social meanings.

Perception of sound units is hardly mechanical. It adjusts to voices of different people and to different accents. Speakers learn to perceive very small acoustic differences quite unconsciously and use this information unconsciously in interpreting people's speech. It exhibits that social effects like gender are completely integral to our linguistic knowledge.

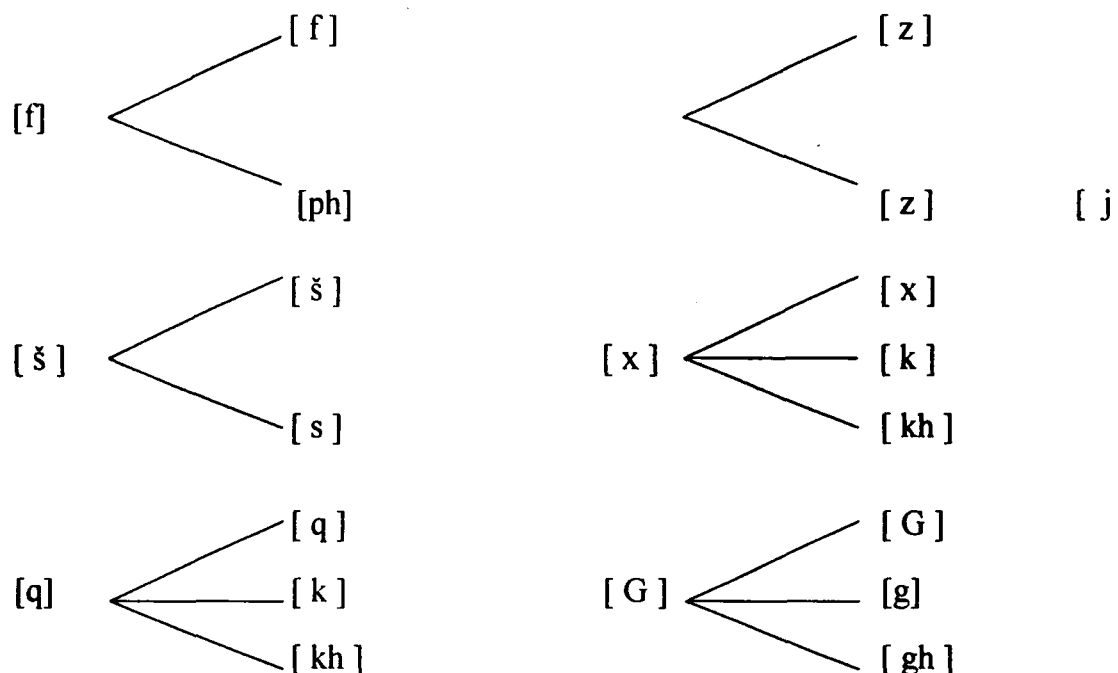
The phonological variations are taken up in following sections. Section 1 deals with the different variant forms of the phonological units. Section 1.1 deals with the tendency of vowel insertion (medially). In section 1.2, we take up the analyses of the tendency among the female to shorten the polysyllabic words. Section 1.3 contains the contraction of longer words. Section 1.4 deals with the switch in variables and breaking of consonant clusters is dealt in Section 1.5

Section 1

1.1 Phonological variants

Phonological variants are the correct articulation speech sound. We can see it in terms of Perso-Arabic sounds which can be seen as a Shibboleth to mark the characteristics of standard Urdu (Hasnain, 1987).

Despite the fact that there is no corresponding realization in Urdu between all those speech sounds which represent Perso-Arabic lineage and the corresponding number of graphemes. There is still a convergence at all the levels of articulation and of correct pronunciation of Perso-Arabic units like /f/, /s/, /z/, /x/, /q/, /r/. The different variant forms of these phonological units are given below:



The variables occur in all the three position homely:

Variables	Initiate	Medial	Final
[f]	/fa:ltu/	/əfra:təfri/	/sa:f]
[š]	/šo:rba:/	/šo:ršəra:ba:/	/tɛš/
[z]	/zəhən/	/bədza:t/	/kəmi:z/
[x]	/xəriyət/	/zəxm/	/təlɪx/
[q]	/qərtu:t/	/zəqa:t/	/təbərɪruq/
[g]	/gula:m/	/kəga:r/	/ro:g/
[m]	/muqədma:l\	/qəma:l\	/qələm/
[l]	/luqma:l\	/təla:q\	/qubu:l\
[n]	/nuqsa:n\	/ro:na:l\	/qa:nu:n\
[V]	/vəqt\	/beva:qu:fi\	/va:stəv\

		Male	Female
[s]	[s]	75	93
	[š]	25	7
[z]	[z]	57	85
	[j]	43	15
	[x]	30	40
[x]	[k]	30	20
	[kh]	26	40

	[q]	44	55
[q]	[k]	40	35
	[kh]	40	10
	[g]	40	80
[g]	[g]	38	16
	[gh]	22	4

All the variables mentioned above were used by both males and females. It was observed that females were more concerned with the correct articulator of their variables and their speech did not consist of the variant forms as compared to males:

Section 1.2 Vowel epenthesis

In this section we take up the words which are spoken with the addition of epenthetic vowel by females.

S.No	Spoken by females	Spoken forms(standard)	Gloss
1	ẽngiya:	ẽngya:	Brassiar
2	əpni guṛiya: səvaã:r dena:	əpni guṛya: səvã:r dena::	To arrange for the marriage of one's gaughter it is related to the dowry arrangement of the daughter.
3	dukhiya:	dukhya:	Afflicted one

			suffer
4	pānkhī_ya:	pānkhya:	A small fan(dim.of pānkha:)
5	moṭi moṭi ga:li yā:	moṭi moṭi ga:lyā	Foul or offensive language
6	boliyā: suna:na:	bolyā: suna:na:	(a)Make fun /of/ (b)To taunt, (curse)
7	khəṭiya: kha:na:	khəṭya: kha:na:	God grant, he may die(a common form of cursing)
8	ḍəliya:	ḍəlyā:	Caster, moulder
9	luṭiya:	lutya:	It's a type of round small vessel using for water etc.
10	čūṭi:la:	čūṭla:	A cue or lock of hair worn behind.
11	ēmiyā:	ēmyā:	A small unripe mango
12	pičhli ṭikiya:	pičhli: ṭikya:	A small cake of flour/ bread which is remained after baking the bread
13	jhəgiriya:	jhəgiryā:	A tinkling anklet
14	jhu:ləniyā:	jhulənyā:	It's a type of hanging earring

			which was hanging on the shoulder
15	bindiya:	bindi	Ornamental for the head
16	lähriya: dupəṭṭa:	lähərya: dupəṭṭa:	A foulded mantle
17	məliya: mait̪ kərna	məlyə: mait̪ kərna	To destroy
19	biṭi ya:	biṭ ya:	Little daughter is spoken as affectionally.
20	čhəliya:	čhəlyə:	(a)clever or cunning person (b) Deceitful
21	kifa:yiti	kifa:yti	Parimomous
22	pətu:riya:	pətu:rya:	Harlot

Section 1.3

Contraction of longer words.Examples-

There are few words which are reduced to a shorter form often by eliminating one syllable.

S.N	Form used by female	Standard Forms	Gloss
1	bokhəl	bokhla:na:	To loss presence of mind
2	dəra:na:	dəra:ona:	Dangerous
3	čut la:	čuti:la:	A cue or lock of hair worn behind
4	kərčhul	kərčhəli	A ladle spoon
5	biṭṭən	biṭi:ya:	Little daughter(It's spoken in affection)
6	poṭla:	poṭəlyā:	A large bundle
7	pha:ha:	pha:ya:	A flock of cotton (used as a lint to dress a wound)
8	phu:pi	phuppo	The aunt of a wife or husband

Section 1.4

Switch in Variables: It is revealed by a careful examination that variables are not used randomly . The use of variables is very cautious, restricted and varies depending on the context such as , (+Formal) (-Formal) (+religion) and so on . The nature of language employed for the purpose is quite explicit. Both the male and female make use of variables in order to make themselves readily intelligible. It is worth noting that the use of variables in matters of religion importance is considerably reduced by both sexes who are very particular about properly rendering and correctly pronouncing holy terms.

For example:

S. No.	Word	Female	Male
1.	/qura:n/	+	+
2.	/qəbər /	+	+
3.	/qa:zi /	+	+
4.	/roza:/	+	+
5	xa:na:e-ka:ba:	+	+
6.	/zəka:t/	+	+
6.	/betulmuqəddəs/	+	+
7	zohər	+	+

Section 1.5

Breaking of consonant clusters

The retention or simplification of clusters is one of the important factor in determining the social significance of speech . Many linguists believe that nature of speech is largely gauged by choice of consonant clusters which play an important role in deciding different levels of formality and informality(Gumperz and Nain 1960). In addition to the degree of variability, the speakers who are exposed to high Persian /Arabic Urdu are more and more prone to use clusters. It is to be noted that many linguists have reflected on the implications of phonologically variants of pronunciation of clusters in language. Some regard the deleted form as basic and advocate these forms for entry into the lexicon , whereas others favour are inserted forms and argue that they are to be learnt first and are more suitable for incorporation into dictionary. It has been observed that both males and females are given to breaking clusters in canonic speech but a careful note of these forms is always taken of in common parlance as is manifested in the following:

S. No.	Spoken (Curial)	Spoken (Careful)	Gloss
1.	/nəɾəm/	/nərm/	'soft'
2.	/fikər/	/fikr/	'worry'

3.	/vəxət/	/vəqt/	'time'
4.	/ʃukər/	/ʃukr /	'thankfulness'
5.	/mərəd/	/mərd/	'man'
6.	/qərəz/	/qərz/	'debt'
7.	/qəbər/	/qəbr/	'grave'
8.	/hərəj/	/hərij/	'no matter doubt'
9.	/ʃərəm/	/ʃərm/	'shame'
10.	/nəzəm/	/nəzm/	'poem'
11.	/təxət/	/təxt/	'wooden bed crown'
12.	/ʃəkəl/	/ʃəkl/	'looks'
13	/rəsəm/	/rəsm/	'ritual'
14	/həšər/	/həšr/	'condition'
15	/fəjr/	/fəjər/	'morning'
16	/gila:s/	/gla:s/	'glass'

Word	Transcription	Gloss	Word	Transcription	Gloss
نذر	/nəzr/	'gift'	نظر	/nəzər/	'vision'
نصب	/nəsb/	'to install'	نسب	/nəsəb/	'genealogy'
نفس	/nəfs/	'desire'	نفس	/nəfəs/	'respiration'
عمر	/Umr/	'age'	عمر	/Umar/	'calipha'
برس	/bərs/	'leprosy'	برس	/bəras/	'year; rain'
عبد	/əbd/	'servant'	ابد	/əbəd/	Eternity'
عصر	/əsɾ/	'time'	اثر	/əsər/	'effect'
ستر	/sətr/	'time'	ستر	/sətər/	'hidden'
رفت	/rəft/	'going'	رفت	/rəfət/	'light'
عزم	/əzm/	'determination'	ازم	/əzəm/	'a mountain'

Chapter - 3

Morphological Variation

Chapter- 3

Morphology is the level of grammar at which reoccurring units of sound are paired with meaning in the formation of words in a variety of ways. As we know the basic indivisible combinations of form, sound and meaning are referred to as morphemes. Morphemes are broadly of two types, e.g. free and bound morphemes. Although morphology is often understood as the study of units of meaning, usually it is considered as a part of a syntax or grammar. In many languages, morphology encodes gender by affixes, e.g. actor/actress in English and *lārka:* / *lārki* , *kha:ta:* / *kha:ti* *ma:lik* / *ma:lkin* in Urdu.

Morphological variations among the male and female in Urdu speech community of Aligarh is taken up in the form of reduplication .

Reduplication is a morphological process that most languages use in forming words. It occurs when a part or a whole word or phrase is repeated to form new words. Pei(1966:230) refers to reduplication as a morphological process whereby there is a repetition of a radical element or part of it, occurring usually at the beginning of a word, occasionally within the word. Here, the word 'radical' means the part of a derived word which is phonetically and

semantically the vehicle of the basic meaning. Pei's definition has not taken into consideration reduplication at the end of the word.

Marantz (1982:437) defines reduplication as "a morphological process relating a base form of a morpheme or stem to a derived form that may be analyzed as being constructed from the base form via the affixation(or infixation) of phonemic material which is necessarily identical in whole or in part to the base form".

According to O'Grady and Guzman(1996:143), reduplication is a common morphological process in certain languages which duplicates all or part of the base to which it applies to mark a grammatical or semantic contrast".

Reduplication is used in inflections to convey a grammatical function, such as plurality, intensification, etc, and in lexical derivation to create new words. It is often used when a speaker adopts a tone more "expressive" or figurative than ordinary speech and is also often, but not exclusively, iconic in meaning. Reduplication is found in a wide range of languages and languages groups, though its level of linguistic productivity varies.

Occasionally the morphological tendency to reduplicate is strengthened by a semantic component. For instance, not only do the combined parts rhyme but also the linking of their independent meanings capture the word's connotation.

During the period 25-50 weeks after birth, all typically developing infants go through a stage of reduplication or canonical babbling (Stark 1980,Oller,1980). Canonical babbling is characterized by repetition of identical or nearly identical consonant vowel combination, such as

1 na:na:

2 ma:ma:

3 ě-ě and the forms used by females for the Childs are-

1 čiči

2 čuču

3 ši:šu

It appears as a progression of language development as infants experiment with their vocal apparatus and home in on the sounds used in their native language.

Generally, females are said to use more reduplicated forms than males. There are three types of reduplication namely complete or total , partial and echo formation . All these forms are exemplified in our data.

1.1 Complete (or total)Reduplication

Complete reduplication is defined by Anvita Abbi as(1980:6) "the phenomena when a single word or clause is repeated

once in the same sentence without any phonological or morphological, variations”.

Complete reduplication involves noun pronoun adjective,verb,adverb etc. These words belong to various parts of speech and are used with the view point of style and effect. Consider the following examples from our data that are predominantly found in the speech of females.

	Word	Gloss
1	ba:dôl <u>ründ ründ</u> kôr a:na:	Clouds to over cast in the sky making someone sad.
2	<u>bhôdôr bhôdôr</u> (çôlna:)	The way of running the sluggish and fatty woman.
3	<u>bhêl bhêl</u> uja:la: hona:	Broad day light
4	<u>tôr tôr</u> (ka:ri)	Fresh green and moist[esculent fit to be used as food]Vegetables.
5	jhôk-a:-jhôk	Bright, shining
6	<u>zôbâ:n</u> (tôle) <u>zôbâ:n</u>	(a)To depart from (one's)word, (b)To say one thing and do another
7	<u>khi:l khi:l</u> hona:	To be parched
8	<u>môrdÔ môrdÔ</u> (mê hona:)	To be dragged into quarrel to men
9	<u>lôbôr lôbôr</u>	Gossip, nonsensical talk

10	<u>mũh</u> –a:- <u>mũh</u>	(a)face to face Brimful
11	<u>moti moti</u> ga:liyā: dena:	Foul or offensive language
12	<u>xuda: xuda:</u> (kôrke)	To eat fabulously or luxirously.
13	<u>ča:ẽ ča:ẽ</u> (kôrna:)	(a)To talk idly, (b)gabble
14	<u>mutôr mutôr</u> (čôlna:)	It Is used for child (b)Walking joyfully.
15	<u>bôl bôl</u> (ja:na:)	(a)To be sacrificed (b)Devoted oneself for
16	<u>bôkôr bôkôr</u> (kôrna:)	(a)To speak sharply, (b)Excessive talking
17	paŌ pi:ṭ pi:ṭ kôr mōrna:	(a)The heels to rub(against the bed in dying) (b)To be in straitened circumstances during the dying period.
18	<u>phu:ṭ phu:ṭ</u> kôr nikôlna:	To die painfully(curse)
19	<u>ăkhŌăkhŌ</u> (mẽ)	Glance of the eye, at a glance
20	<u>čôk čôk</u> londe kha:na:	Eat fabously or luxuriously
21	<u>guțôr guțôr</u> (dekhna:)	Constantly stare
22	<u>guțôr guțôr</u> (sunna:)	Constantly hearing without giving any response
23	<u>ghôr ghôr</u> ke murde čôkhna:	A servant who changes services

		very quickly.
25	<u>ba:l ba:l</u> (bôčna:)	Barely to succeed or to win
26	<u>pôtôt</u> (bolna:)	To speak clearly(of the babies and sometime it is also used by the way of contempt for the girls when they talk more among the elders/old age people.
27	<u>pôtôr</u> (bolna:)	To speak clearly(of the babies and sometime it is also used by the way of contempt for the girls when they talk more among the elders/old age people.
29	<u>pinpi:na:na:</u>	Irritating sound, whizzing
30	<u>phôphôdna:</u>	babbling

Total reduplication is the least marked reduplication pattern that occurs in natural languages and may be a true language universal (Moravcsik 1978:328).

1.2 Partial Reduplication

Anvita Abbi (1980:7) has defined the partial reduplication in the following way:

"Partial reduplication refers to the paired construction in which the second word is not an exact repetition of the first but has some similarity or relationship to the first either on

the semantic or phonetic level. It is to be noted that both words individually carry a meaning of their own and this can be employed alone in a sentence". Some examples are given below:

1	<u>a: ga: ta:ga:</u> (lena:)	(a) To look after, (b) Attend to, to account
2	<u>Osôr</u> (ke) <u>dosôr</u>	(a)To have to pay instead of receiving (b)To be drawn into difficulty (c)To be or become a loser(by).
3	<u>tərċôm</u> <u>ərka:</u>	To make fight/separation
4	<u>ta:ha:tôhi</u>	(a)One upon or over another fold within fold (b)Plait by plait
5	<u>tokôm</u> <u>tok</u>	Correct weighing
6	<u>tokôm</u> <u>toka:</u>	Prevention
7	<u>Jha:r-</u> <u>jhu:rna:</u>	Dusting
8	<u>Čikni</u> - <u>čupri</u> (ba:tě) bôna:na:/kôrna:	(a)To use oily speech; (b)To speak plausibly

9	<u>hċrbe - zċrbe</u>	(a)Frequently, occasionally (b)Now and then
10	<u>hċlla: Ȝulla:</u>	Making noise
11	<u>zċrra: zċhu:r</u>	A little
12	<u>qċsma: qċsmi</u>	(a)To take oath and also it is used as made terms or conditions{with}. (b)Swearing on both sides
14	<u>ba:si tibasi</u>	Stale
15	<u>ċċtċk mċtċk</u>	(a)Having a fine perception (b)Gaudiness
16	<u>mċrda: mċrdi</u>	(a)By force (b)Showing strongness (c)Pertaining to men's
17	<u>ċċċha: bċċċa:</u>	(a)In good order and condition, (b)In sound health,hale and hearty
18	<u>a:th a:tha:ra: (kċrna:)</u>	
19	<u>kċċċe pċkke</u> (din)	Beginning or initial stage or days of pregnancy
20	<u>ċb tċb</u> (hona;)	Be careless

21	uljheṛa: ba:kheṛa:	Complex affairs
22	<u>tôlċhu na:ċhu</u> (kôrna:)	To be restless
23	<u>khôre tôre</u>	(a)At one time- at another time, (b)Sometimes, now and then.
24	<u>ċhċn - mċn</u>	The hissing sound
25	<u>tôtu thômbu</u>	To interpose, support a patching up (as of quarrel etc)
26	<u>phċl – phċla:na:</u>	Flourish

1.3 Echo Formation

The echo words are imitative in nature. S.K. Chatterji (1963) has defined 'echo words' as follows:

'A word is replaced partially (partially which is fixed, is substituted for the initial formed unmeaningful by itself, echoes the sense and sound of the original word), and in this way the idea 'et cetra' and things similar to or associated with that is expressed'.

Anvita Abbi (1980:7-8) stated that:

Echo words refers to a situation where the second word in the paired construction does not have any meaning of its own. When attached to the first word an idea of generality is obtained'.

Echo words does not mean anything, it creates effect in style of language. Consider the following examples from our data that are relatively related to females.

1	<u>ômi</u> - <u>jômi</u> rôhna:	Bright, brilliant, splendid
2	<u>ôrôg</u> <u>bôrôg</u>	To be spread, scattered
3	<u>ta:le</u> - <u>ba:le</u> bôta:na:	To practice delay, constantly postponing something.
4	<u>Jaũ taũ</u> kôrke	(a)By some means or other, (b)By anymeans, as it could be done.
5	<u>Çhidde</u> - <u>mudde</u>	Used as terms of love and affection when talking with children .
6	<u>ônhri</u> <u>pônhri</u>	Petals
7	<u>ômôk</u> <u>dhômôk</u>	Highly decorative
8	<u>ôrôg</u> <u>bôrôg</u>	Useless things
9	<u>ujra:</u> <u>pujra:</u>	Ruined
10	<u>utrôn</u> <u>putrôn</u>	(a)Anything taken off from the body (b)Worn-out or cast off clothes.

11	<u>ĉngĉr khĉngĉr</u>	Useless things
12	<u>tĉlĉhu-na:ĉhu</u> kĉrna:	To be restless
13	<u>hĉtta: kĉtta:</u>	Stout

Reduplication is a very productive morphological process .The role that reduplication plays in Urdu language seem very exhaustive. The features noted in the reduplicative process of Urdu language have a lot to do with the nature of the language.It is noticed, that the vocabulary which is collected is used exclusively by females and we find reduplication in varied forms, though complete and partial reduplications are evidenced more vis-a- vis echo forms in females speech.

Chapter - 4

Syntactic Variation

Chapter - 4

The present chapter proposes to analyse the syntactic variations seen in the language of women. As we know syntax deals with combination of words into sentences.. It indicates something about relations among the participants in those situations. For example the sentences given below

(a)əhməd ne zaid ko ma:ra:

(b)zaid ne əhməd ko ma:ra:

have the same words, but are syntactically different and therefore meanings of both the sentences are different. In sentence (a) Ahmad is the subject and in sentence (b) Zaid is the subject.

It suggests that syntax provides multiple ways to describe the same events and syntactic alternations describe the same situation or event from different perspectives or emphasis, so like other linguistic choices they can help identify message with colour ideology.

It is the discipline that examines the rules of a language that dictates how the various parts of sentences go together. It looks at how the smallest linguistic units (which are called morphemes) are formed into complete sentences.

It is not prescriptive, that is to say that it does not attempt to tell people what is the(objectively) correct way to form a sentence .

Rather, it is descriptive , because it looks at how language is actually used and tries to come up with the rules that successfully describe what various language communities consider to be grammatical and what are non grammatical. Syntax thus deals with a number of things, all of which help to facilitate understanding language..

In view of the above it can be said that , syntax corresponds to the rules by which signs are combined to make statements. It thus incorporates the grammar of phrases, clauses and sentences. Producing and uttering sentences is an important part of how we make sense of our world. We articulate the meaning of our experience in words; in the process of articulation, we make (or discover) the meaning of the experience.

Syntactic and morphologic choices can therefore help speakers in variety of ways to manifest gender differences including the parameters of sentence types, sentence length, construction types, tag-question sentence length and completeness of sentence. There are many other subtle distinctions associated with syntactic variation at the gender level.

Section 1 deals with tag questions, modality/modulation and hedges.

Section 2 deals with sentence length, sentence incompleteness , differences among male and female

In Section 4 word order and various forms of phrases are treated.

1.1 Tag questions

(a) Rushda pāta: nāhī: kiya: hoga:, suna: he uski t̄abiyāt
thi:k nāhī rāhti

Seema hē, lekin dekne mē to sāhi lāg rāhi thi hēnā:
 śi:ba:

ši:ba hā: læqta: to he

(b) Shehla əm̩mi jəbb̩hi kəh̩i ja:ti h̩ẽ pa:ni zəru:r piti: h̩ẽ

Farheen hā: menē bhi ye dekha: he, ke əmmi čəlte vəkt
pa:ni zəru:r piti hē, hēna:

(c) Tabassum š̌ďba:na: č̌əl amir niša č̌əlegi hě

Shabanã ũ-----hũ

(d) Farheem šəba:na: pəčči:s (25) tari:x ki ša:di he, ša:di

mẽ čəlegi

Shabana ā: hã: dekhūngi:

(e) Tabassum pəta: nəhī bha:bi həm dostō ki ba:tō mẽ kyō
ghusti hē, aur jəb nida: a:ti he to uske to piče
hi pəɾ ja:ti hē....

Farheen hã: ya:r ye to he, ye to tu səhi: kəh rəhi he,
əksəɾ dekha: he menē bhi hēna:

Generally females are said to use more modals and hedges than the males. Because of these stereotypes, hedges are found in the speech of people who have an inferior position in the society. But from the data, it is evident that both males and females use hedges and modals with almost same intensity.

1.2. Modality/modulation and hedges

Lakoff (1975) includes a category of lexical items that she labels as "hedges". Hedges are defined as words that convey the sense that the speaker is uncertain about what he /she is saying or cannot vouch for the accuracy of the statement.

Generally females are supposed to use more "hedges" than males as a part of the stereotype of tentativeness associated with their speech. There are three different uses of hedges that are illustrated by Lakoff. First it may occur where the speaker is usually unsure of the facts. Secondly it is used for the sake of

politeness. Thirdly, it characterizes "women's language" as the language of those who are "out of power" in the society. They have more super polite forms like multiple modality. Modals in Urdu are **Ya:lebən, Ša:yəd, mumkin he, ho səkta: he ča:hiye** and examples of hedges are **jese ke, mere xya:l se, ja:nte ho**.etc..

(a) kyō a:nṭi hāmne suna: he ke usne āpne miyā: ko
tāla:k de diya: he, hē kiya: esa: he.

Anty pāta: nāhī bhaiya:, pāta: nāhī, suna: to menē bhi
kučh esa: hi he

(b) Arshi pāta: he uski ša:di ho gai he

Rashid hē vākai mē, kisse

(c) Anjum hālo sār, mē ānjum bol rāhihū, māim a:j
dipartment a:ēngi kiya:

Sir hā: keh to rāhi thī, ābhi to āpne gār pār gai hui
hē, Ya:libān unhē pohauč ja:na: ča:hie, ābtāk .

(d) Waseem mere xāya:l se mujhe āb čālna: ča:hiye, bēhaut
ra:t ho gai he

In the above examples the underlined portions represent the hedges. Usually, it is said that females use more tag questions because, they are not sure of what they are saying and they are seeking confirmation for that. This also signals security. But if we examine day to day conversation of both sexes, then we find that the occurrence of tag question in males' and females' speech is the

same. If females use tag question seven times, then males use tags questions six times in mixed sex group conversation.

Section 2

2.1. Sentence length

Males and females both use longer sentences in the group conversation but sometimes females leave sentences incomplete when they are interrupted by males.

For example

- (a) Mammi ǝre a:jkǝl du:d bǝhaut pǝtla: a:rǝha: he, du:d
wa:le se kǝhna: zǝra:
- Papa ʈhi:k he khowa: kǝrwa: ke deklǝnge pǝta: ʈǝl
ja:ega:
- Mammi ǝʈʈha:is rupe kilo du:d deta: he, aur uspe bhi
pa:ni, ek do din to ʈhi:k lǝya: tha:, kǝl ka: du:d
bhi pǝtla tha:, a:j ka: bhi pǝtla he, bǝta:o kiya:
pese nǝhĩ dete hǝ, hǝ, itna: mehga: du:d deta:
he aur uspe bhi pa:ni, kehna: usse ke ǝgǝr....
- Papa ǝre kehdũnga:, keh to diya:, kiya: ise bhi
bhǝga: ke ʈhorogi .
- (b) Sadia sun fǝrhi:n zǝra: ba:t sun
- Farheem hǝ: kiya: he, teri bǝkva:s sunne ke liye mere
pa:s fa:ltu: ka: ʈa:im nǝhĩ hǝ
- Sadia hǝ: mǝ fa:ltu ki bǝkba:s to kǝr hi rǝhi hũ

- Farheen bəkva:s ko tu kəhīn nəhī aur kuč kəhegi
- Shehla hā: əb to bəkva:s hi ləgegi
- Farheen əčcha: to yeh ka:m ki ba:t bhi kərti he, hē
- Sadia dekh rəhi hē əmmi
- Farheen əmmi kiya: dekhēngi, hē', əmmi to dekh hi rəhi
hē, vo to za:hir si ba:t he tujhe hi səppot
kərengi, a:khir tu la:ḍli beṭi: jo he unki.
- Sadia dekhlie əmmi
- Ammi hā: ye to he hi meri beṭi, tu to he hi nəhī meri
beṭi.
- (c) Imran təbəssum morṭi:n ləga:de
- Tabassum morṭi:n nəhī hē tum lekər-----
- Imran kitni ba:r kəha: he ke do ča:r morṭi:n m̃ga: ke
rəkh liya: kəro, lekin nəhī əmmi vəhi ek morṭi:n
m̃ga:ti: hē, sa:le əb kese soēnge ra:t mē hē
- Tabassum aisa: kər tu morṭi:n lea: aur-----
- Imra:n mē to nəhī ja: rəha: mē əbhi a:ya: hū aur əb
morṭi:n lene ja:ū əb duka:n khul rəhi hogi: koi,
əb kese soeṅge ra:t bhər, təbəssum la: ya:r
pese le, əmmi se, mē a:ge se lekər a:ta: hū .

Conclusion

Both males and females use longer sentences in the same sex and the mixed sex conversation as they both are equally talkative but sometimes males utter longer sentences than females because they have more aggression.

2.2. Sentence incompleteness

Females leave sentences incomplete more than males. This is because females get interrupted by males. Following are the examples that mark the incompleteness of sentences as a result of interruption.

(a) Azra apa hām to a:p ke ghār mē ṭhā:ḍ kila:s ke bānkār
rāh gae hē, āb yā ka:m bhi hām...

Uncle kesi: ba:t kārṭi ho hāṭo čālo čālo hām kārte hē,
a:p yāhā: se hāṭ Ja:ē

(b) Azra appa yā lāḍka: hām dekhte hē, ba:r ba:r a:ta: ja:ta:
he, dīn bhār sa:ekil čāla:ta: he, iska: thōra:
dhiya:n to rākh.....

Uncle āre ilevinth kila:s ka: bāčča: he ja:ne do, do
ti:n bāčč rāhte he, āpna: čār haza:r kira:ya:
a:ja:ta: he, zīya:da: kučh kāhēnge, bha:g
ja:ega:, zīya:da: intārṭiār kiyā: kerē kisi ki la:if
mē.

Conclusion

Males interrupt females speech a number of times, as a result females sentences remain incomplete.

Section 3

3.1. Adjective frequency

Some studies reveal that females are more prone to use adjective than males in both speech and writing sentences. The following are examples from the collected data and show the adjectives which used by the males and females.

Adjectives	Females	Males
Umda:	+	-
moṭi	+	-
kyu:t	+	-
sa:t	+	+
lǝmba:	+	+
ziya:da:	+	-
eka:d	+	-
čipku	+	-
čhoṭi	+	-
Čhutki	+	-
su:khi	+	-
kəčče	+	-

fəṭ	+	-
gəṇde	+	+
khəṭṭa:	+	+
pehle	+	+
du:sre	+	+
thəṛḍ	+	+
itna:	+	-
bəṛi-bəṛi	+	-
beintiha: əčči	+	-
gorjiṭs	+	-
ileven	+	+
jitne	+	+
sa:ri	+	-
pu:ri	+	-
pətli	+	+
sa:t	+	+
a:dhi	+	+
jis	+	+
bhəṛ	+	+
pu:re	+	+
tisre	-	+

itni	-	+
suku:n	-	+
sukkattī	+	-
čhəbbis	-	+
ikta:lis	-	+
beča:ra:	-	+
Səb	-	+
kitne	+	-
ṭuelv	+	-
sikṣṭ	+	-

Conclusion

It is said, that adjectives are more used by females than by males. It is verified by the data. The data for the present study suggest that majority of the adjectives are used by females, and a few of them by males. But there are certain adjectives which are common to both.

3.2. Adjective type

Males and females use different types of adjectives. For instance:

(a) Descriptive adjectives

Descriptive adjectives are those which describe shape size colour, taste etc. of the nouns that come after them for example.

Females

- (1) Shamim ya:r unki bivi bəhaut xu:bsurət hə
- (2) Farhat pəta: nəhī əb kesa: ho gəya: hoga, pehle to
kitna: sma:t tha:
- (3) Shamim Šəbana: teri beṭi bəhaut pya:ri he
- (4) Sana pəta: he vo bilkul ləfəṅga: lərkə: he

Male

- (1) Amir xair no ɖa:uṭ ləge dono bəhaut sma:t aind dešing
hə
- (2) Waseem ya:r dekho ərshi tum wa:qəi: mə niha:yət hi
bədtəmi:z ho gai ho

Descriptive adjectives are used by both males and females as is exemplified in the collected data.

(b) Adjectives of Endearments

They show affection towards someone. eg,

Sharmeen ya:r meri ek hi to nənənd he pya:ri: si:

Sumana tumha:ra: sweṭər xu:bsurət ləg raha: he ka:hā:
se liya:

Adjectives of endearment are exclusively used by females, like bəhaut pya:ra:/pya:ri xu:bsurət, very sweet, very cute, gorgeous, delicious ,stylish etc.

Section 4

WORD ORDER

There are six theoretically possible basic word orders for the sentences. Subject verb object (SVO), subject object verb (SOV), verb, subject, object (VSO), verb, object, subject (VOS), object, subject, verb (OSV) and object verb subject (OVS). The overwhelming majority of the world's languages are either SVO or SOV, with a much smaller but still significant portion using VSO word order. The remaining three arrangements are exceptionally rare, with VOS being slightly more common than OVS and OSV being significantly more rare than the two preceding ones. It is not always easy to find basic word order and not all languages make use of the categories of subject and object.

Sometimes patterns are more complex. The mentioned functions of word order can be seen to affect the frequency of the various word order patterns.

Some languages do not have a fixed word order. In these languages there is often a significant amount of morphological marking to disambiguate the roles of the arguments; however there are also languages in which word order is fixed even though the degree of marking would enable free word order.

In many languages, changes in word order occur due to topicalization or in questions. However, most languages are generally assumed to have a basic word order, called the unmarked word order. Marked word orders can then be used to emphasize a sentence element, to indicate modality (such as interrogative modality or for other purposes.

The order of constituents in a phrase can vary as much as the order of constituents in a clause. Normally, the noun phrase and the adpositional phrase are investigated, within the noun phrase, it is

investigated whether the following modifiers occur before or after the headnoun.

Within the adpositional clause, one investigates whether the languages makes use of prepositions, postpositions, or both (normally with different adpositions at the both sides).

There are several common correlations between sentence-level word order and phrase-level constituent order. For example sov languages generally put modifiers before heads and use postpositions vso languages tend to place modifiers after their heads, and use prepositions. For svo languages, either order is common.

Word order is very important but it is not complicated, and it can be a few basic rules or principles. Of course, there are exceptions to many rules, and writers and speakers sometimes use different or unusual word order for special effects. But if we concentrate on the exceptions, we may forget the main principles, and the question of word order may start to seem very complex. So here are just a few examples; you should realize that they exist, but not try to use them unless either they are essential in the context, or else you have fully mastered, normal word order patterns. (Don't try to run before you can walk.) Some expressions and idioms are given below to show word order used by females for phrases, proverbs and figurative uses:

1	sōṭa: se ha:th	Bangless hand
2	əṛi pəṛ kər kha:na:	To be comfortable
3	beṭhe biṭha:e	All of a sudden
4	sā:p sū:ng ja:na:	To become stunned
5	čəṭṭo biga:re əpna: ghər aur bətto biga:re du:sre ka: ghər	A gourment harms herself whereas a talkative harms others.
6	lərki a:i se:j pe lərka: gəya: gaur	A girl is younger than her husband

7	a:i bəhu a:ya: ka:m gəi bəhu gəya: ka:m	The expression of distress or discontent
8	mo ku aur na: to ku ʈaur	I am indispensable to you and you are same to me.
10	əpna: sa: mūh lena:	Humiliate
11	hī:ng ləge na: phitkəri aur rēng bhi čokha: ho ja:e	Trying to get good results without efforts
12	da:tō təle zəbā:n	Helpless, not able to say anything
13	əkəl ki dušmən	Fool
14	so ba:t ki ek ba:t, əndha: kiya: ča:he, do a:nkhē	A loser needs compensation for his loss.
15	čha:ti pər mu:ng dəlna:	To annoy someone
16	dhu:dh ka: dhu:la: nəhī:	Not very pious
17	kha:li čəna: ba:je ghəna:	To exaggerate something
18	jəb saiyā:ji hue kotwa:l to dər kaheka:	No need to get worried when you have power

Some conversational examples are given below :

(1) Male- Female

Male - əre pehle paise do, əbhi lekər a:ūnga:,
Female- de rəhi hū, inhē to ha:lhi billi ka: mu:t ča:hi:e
Description (To get something immediately)

(2) Female-Female

əsmā: jəldi jəldi ka:m kəro itne se bərtən əbhi tək
nəhī: dhule hē, əgər tum esi hi kəmeru hoī:, to ghər
ghər ləndi ka:heko phirtī

Description (if you are hard worker then you are not wandering without any reason, Not being hardworker)

bəs ba:tē kərva:lo ba:tō ki to dhənī he .

Description(Being talkative)

(3) Female-Female

Female - əmmi ese hi ye mujh se keh rehe the ke tere
nəhī: hō:ngə bəčče vəčče

Female- hā: bəčče to ga:th mē hokər ho ja:te hē.

Discription(It is not easy to give birth a child)

Usually females use more complex and compound sentences than males . They use more phrases and idioms in the conversation. But there are some phrases and idioms that are used by males e.g. čoba:re ki ī:nṭ gəjra:re, čəṛ gai, (a person who has no value to get higher prestige)gənje ko na:khun nəhī diye nəhī to khuja: khuja: ke mər ja:e,(A person who is not able to do some work if able then God knows ,what he will do.)məri billi mujhe hi mia:ū(Something which is suggestive of) proverbs etc. However some phrases and idioms are common between males and females.

As is the saying that women are eternal mystery, and very much complicated like idioms and phrases that frequently employed by them that enliven one's style of writing and makes it more interesting and entertaining.

It will be helpful to all users of the language, to capture the "flavor" of the expressions and indicate the context in which they are usually found. Mastering idiomatic expressions and reproducing them correctly is one of the most difficult aspects of learning a language.

Trying to find idioms is often not easy. Many idioms have a label to indicate the situation in which they are generally used. The

labels will not only help people to use the idioms correctly but also prevent them from using them in an inappropriate context which can cause embarrassment.

Generally female trivial talk is longer insipid and less colorful while that of males is more concise , more jovial and more alluring .

Chapter- 5

Lexical Variation

Chapter - 5

It refers to the variation in the lexicon. The word "lexicon" is used to refer to the inventory of lexical morphemes and words in a language.

As we know "lexicon" is truly considered as a repository of cultural preoccupations, and as a result the link between gender and the lexicon is rather deep and extensive. Since lexical items have content in different domains, different language users have access to somewhat different lexicons. e.g. linguists have their specialized terminology and doctors have their own. Though marks of gender in the lexicon are often complex and multilayered.

We also find gender linked norms for using certain lexical items for instance, men are expected to use profanities more than women.

It is also interesting to note that variations resulting from some words are neither in wide spread use or nor found in the dictionary because the idea or concerns that they express are not widely shared, for instance, some terms of abusive, terms of ornaments, the terms related to make up, cooking related terms, colour terms and curse etc are widespread in female speech but are rare or non existent in the speech of male respondents.

Both males and females seem to possess different lexical items in their total repertoire. Differences are also found in their usage pattern of the lexicon.

This chapter, deals with the lexical variations at the level of gender in two sections.

The first section consists of analysis of a large corpus of women's specific terms & vocabulary, while the second section deals with women's specific expressions.

Section 1. Women Specific Terms & Vocabulary

As said earlier, males and females seem to possess different words in their total repertoire which is based on the range and types of field in which they are involved . The investigation of women's specific terms is taken up in four sub-sections that are given below.

Section 1.1 examines the terms of jewellery and ornaments. In section 1.2 terms of utensils and food and eatables and cooking and food preparations are analyzed. Terms of swearing, curses and contempt, colour terms and women's specific terms for clothing and dress have been taken up in section 1.3 and 1.4 respectively.

Section 1.1 Women's terms of Jewellery and Ornaments.

This section deals with a list of 132 words that are used for jewellery and ornaments. The number of words related to pieces of Jewellery and their types are 104 whereas the terms used for ornaments and make up are 27 in number.

The two sets of list of words viz list A and list B, of these vocabulary items are given below along with the gloss.

List –A Terms of Jewellery

1.	āngu:ṭhi:	Ring
2.	a:rsi	a small mirror worn in place of a stone in a tumb as a ring by Indian women.

3.	uṭhe hue kəngəṇ	a sort of bracelet
4.	erəṇ	It's a type of ornament
5.	ba:zubəṇd	(a)ornament worn on the arm; (b)armlet, (c) bracelet
6.	ba:la:	A kind of ear-ring
7.	ba:li	A kind of small ear-ring (passing through the centre of the ear)
8.	ba:li pətte	It's a type of ear-ring
9.	bā:nk	A kind of bangle
10.	bijli bijliyā:	A kind of ear-ring (consisting a hook with a pendent in the shape of kernel of a mango)
11.	bičhu:a:	A ring worn on the (little or great) toe
12.	bindi	Ornament for the forehead
13.	bula:q	The septum of the nose
14.	beṛi	Ring worn round the ankle
15.	besəṛ	Ring worn (by women) in the nose (on the left nostrill)
16.	pəṭta:	An ornament worn in the upper part of the ear [A leaf]
17.	pəṭṛiyā:	An armlet
18.	pəčləṛa:	A necklace (of five strings)
19.	pəčləṛi	A necklace (of five strings)

20.	pəribənd	A kind of ornament worn in hand
21.	pəričhəṁ	A type of ornament
22.	pəhōči	An ornament worn on the wrist
23.	pa:zeb	An anklet of gold/silver (a child feet foremost)
24.	pa:yəl	An anklet
25.	phu:l	An ornament
26.	təgri	A gold/silver chain worn round the waist
27.	ṭəxəṇ zeb	It is a type of ornament (the anklet)
28.	ṭi:ka:	An ornament patch of gold worn on forehead
29.	toṛi	An anklet
30.	ṭokəṣ	An earring
31.	ṭaups	An Earring
32.	tauq	a neck ring
33.	jaušəṇ	(a) gold/Silver ornament worn by women on the upper arm (b)An armlet
34.	jugnu	A jewel or ornament worn by (women about the neck)
35.	jhale	A little large rounded earring
36.	Jhā: jhəṇ	An ornament with little bells worn on the
37.	jhā:njh	A hollow linking anklet
38.	Jhā :ngiriyā:	A tinkling anklet

39.	Jhumka:	The bell-shaped pendant (of an earring)
40.	Jhumki	(dim. of jhumka:) a kind of ear-ring with a pendent.
41.	jhulāniyaḥ	It's a type of hanging earring which was hanging on the shoulder.
42.	jhumār	An ornament consisting of a number of chains forming a fringe which is attached to the top-knot (of a women's head) and falls on the forehead
43.	čāmpa:kāli	A necklace composed of the little ornaments in the form of the bud of the (čāmpa) flower.
44.	Čāndān ha:r	It's a type of necklace
45.	Ča:nd ba:li	It's a type of earring
46.	Ča:nd ta:ra:	A semilunar gold ornament (Worn under two other on head)
47.	Čiq	Type of ornament
48.	Čain	A gold/Silver ornament which is worn in the neck.
49.	Čausāri	An ornament worn (by women) tight round the neck and hooked behind.
50.	čhālla:	A plain ring (of gold silver or other metal worn on a finger of foot)
51.	chālni	Ring worn (by women) in the nose (on the left nostrill)
52.	Čuṭla:	A cue or lock of hair worn behind

53.	Čuṭi:la:	A cue or lock of hair worn behind
54.	Čha:gəl	Ornament (It's a type of anklet which was stunned with (ghungru) diminutive bells, attached to anklet.
55.	Čhipki	It's a type of ornament which is used in place of (bičhua) a-ring worn on the (little or great) toe
56.	həlqa:	An ornamental round shape bangle, ring etc.
57.	dəstbənd	(a)A string of pearls or precious stones worn (by women on the wrist) (b)A gold/silver ornament worn on back of the hand
58.	dəndkəṛa	(a)A kind of ornament like a bangle (b)bracelet, anything resembling a bracelet in form.
59.	dur	(a)A kind of ear-ring (b)pearl
60.	ra:ni ha:r	Necklace
61.	rešəṃ pəṭṭi	Type of ornament worn on anklet
62.	sət ləṛa:	a chain or necklace of seven strings
63.	sət ləṛi	
64.	səra:səri	An ornament worn on the head (going all round it)
65.	sīnga:r pəṭṭi	Many types of ornaments and make ups.
66.	sīngha:ṛa:	A kind of ornament

67.	si:sphu:l	An ornament for the head (worn by women)
68.	sēṭa:	An ornament worn in nose
69.	Šeta:n ba:ja:	An ornament worn in ankle which is stuned with thick (ghungru) diminutive bells.
70.	kārān phu:l	An ornament for the ear consisting of a hollow cone of gold to the base of which pearls are attached and which is fixed as a pendant to the ear-ring.
71.	kārā:	A thick bangle (on the wrists)
72.	kāla:i	the forearm, wrist
73.	kāngān	A gold or silver ornament for the wrist (worn by women)
74.	kāngna:	a) A bracelet b) Thread/string tied round the right wrist of a bridegroom and the left of a bride at the marriage ceremony.
75.	kirān phu:l	An Ornament for the ear-consisting of a hellow cone of gold to the base of which pearls are attached and which is fixed as a pendant to the earring
76.	kundāl	To form a round earring
77.	khāṛuṇ	A wrist ornament
78.	gānga: jāmni	Mixed (as oil and butter made of mixture of (gold and silver or brass and copper)

		on earring made of such mixed metal.
79.	gulsār	Type of ornaments
80.	gulśān pāṭṭi	A kind of jewelry
81.	gulubānd	A collar, the neck
82.	ghūngru	A string of small bells worn round the ankle
83.	lāčche	A gold fitting close to the neck
84.	lār	Chain
85.	lārī	A chain
86.	lōṅg	A gold/silver nose pin (having form of a clave)
87.	māčhli	An ear-ring made in the form of a fish
88.	māgār	A kind of jewelry on alligator shaped, ornament worn as pendant to the earring termed ba:la-(a large earring)
89.	ma:la:	chaplet of flowers or pearls
90.	mirza: be-pārwa:	Three small delicate golden chains, worn as the (tika:- patch of gold / silver worn on the forehead) fixed to the hair by small hooks.
91.	muba:f	a cue/lock of hair worn behind
92.	murki	A kind of earring worn by men
93.	moti ču:r	Round link (of a gold, chain and the like)
94.	motiyō ka: ha:r	A necklace of pearls
95.	neklis	A type of gold ornament worn on the neck

96.	nəth	A large (gold/silver ring worn by women in the nose)
97.	naurəṭəṇ	A jewelry made up of nine types of jewels/diamonds
98.	nauləṭk ka: ha:r	(a)A priceless gift [necklace] (b)To give great respect.
99.	naunəge	An ornament worn on the upper arm
100.	həsli	A collar (of gold/silver worn around the neck as an ornament.
101.	həmail	A sort of necklace
102.	ha:thō ke čhəlle	A ring of gold/silver or other metal worn on a finger
103.	ha:thi da:nt ke cure(kəre	It's a sort of bangle
104.	mohəṇ ma:la:	Necklace of corals and gold beads which is studded with three string, five string or seven string.

List B

Terms of ornaments

1.	bəbəryā čhoṇa:	Letting the hair loose
2.	bəṭṭa: sa: mūh	A large and round face
3.	ba:l bičurna:	To search for lice
4.	bindi	Ornament for the forehead.
5.	bindi:ya:	Ornament for the forehead.
6.	pəṭṭiyā:	To paste the hair down [hair hanging down upon the temple or over the ear]

7	ṭiki:ya:	It's is a source of women make up was used for lips in place of lipstick
8	ṭima:g	Make up
9.	ṭima:k	Make up
10.	Jəṛəo	Set or studded with jewels jeweled
11.	čəṭək məṭək	Having a fine perception gaudiness
12.	čəmkī	Glitter
13.	raumṭa:	Hair of the body
14.	səṛ dikha:na:	To get one to hunt for lice
15.	sir ba:ndhna:	To tie up the hair, to plait or braid the hair
16.	sir dikha:na:	To get one to hunt for lice
17.	sir ka:rḥna:	To comb.
18.	sīnga:r da:n	Dressing case
19.	sīnga:r	To dress up
20.	suha:g piṭa:ra:	A basket containing] cosmetics, paints , perfumes a comb, bangles and other ornaments etc presented by a bridegroom to his bride.
21.	suha:gči	A perfume rubbed on a bride's clothes and bed.
22	sola:h singa:r kəṛna:	To dress up herself in a good manner
	ləṭura: (utəṛwa:na:)]	A small curl or lock of hair, having curly locks, having tangled hair.
23	la:li	Lipstick
24	məčhli ki mēhdi	It's a design of heena (mēhdi) when the women were used heena on the hands and tightly bent the fingers and when fingers were opened a design

		like the fish was to be made.
25	mu:r	The head
26	na:khu:ni	Nail polish
27	səndu:qča: səndu:qč i	Casket used for Jewellery, rupees

Comments on the above lists :

1. The words of list A above refer to jewellery and those of list B to the terms of ornament. As is evident from the quantum of words, that women's vocabulary for jewellery & ornaments is very rich and expansive. Most of these terms are women's exclusive. Besides these, the terms referring to **ba:li, bindi, bula:q, pa:yəl, ʈi:ka:, jhumka:, jhumər čuʈi:la: čhəlla:, kəngən, kundəl** are not at all used by male folk.
2. Most of the terms of list B are non-existent for younger generation.
3. Females of older generation were able to recollect a great number of terms.
4. We find the difference in number of words for both Jewellery and ornaments according to socioeconomic class. For instance women of lower & lower middle classe were able to name many traditional and old fashioned jewellery items such as, **naulək ka: ha:r, naunəge, həsli, həmail, mohən ma:la:, muba:f, ləɾ, ləčče, gulu:bənd, səʈa:, khəɾue, gulšən pəʈʈi, tori. Terms of ornamentation-na:khu:ni, mu:r, sola:h sīnga:r kərna:, sīnga:r da:n, čəmki, ʈiki:ya:, čəʈək məʈək ke, bəʈʈa sa: mūh, pəʈʈiyā:**. These terms are known to the aged women, Whereas women of upper middle class

could name just the very common pieces of jewellery e.g **čain**, **ba:li** , **pa:zeb** , **pa:yəl** , **ti:ka:** , **jhumār** , **kāra:** , **lō:ng** , **nəth**, **nailpoliš**, **li:pištik** , **maik əp** , etc.

Section 1.2 Women's terms of utensils, food and eatables, terms of cooking and food preparation. There are three sets of lists of vocabulary items namely list A, list B and list c dealing with the 120 terms listed above.

We present below three sets of lists in serial order with their meanings.

List A

Terms of Utensils

1.	ugəlda:n	A vessel for spitting in a spittoon
2.	bərosi	An earthen bowl or oven for fire at which the milk was boiling
3.	ba:diya:	It's a type of bowl
4.	bholva:	An earthen vessel to drink out of
5.	kulhəṛ	An earthen vessel to drink out of.
6.	pəti:la:	A copper pot or pan (with a wide mouth a cauldron)
7.	pəti:li	A small pot or pan
8.	pi:kda:n	(a) A vessel for holding the spit (b) A spittoon specially used for the betel-leaf chewed.
9.	phu:kni	A wind instrument use to flame
10	təba:k	A large flat plate as (thaal) dish
11	tətera:	A vessel for warming water

12	təšla:	(a)A brass dish/vessel used to knead dough in (b)to wash the clothes in it.
13	tha:l	A large flat plate or dish of metal
14	tha:li	A small flat plate
15	Čəpni	A flat lid/cover
16	q̄həkn̄i	A flat lid/cover
17	sərpəš	A flat lid/cover
18	čiləməči	A wash hand basin of metal
19	Či:ni ke bərtən	Porcelain, glazed, fine earthen ware
20	doi	A large spoon (wooden)
21	q̄əliya:	Caster, moulder
22	Səndə:si	Forceps
23	Či:m̄ta:	Forceps
24	Səhnək	(a) small plate; (b)An earthen pot
25	siləp̄či	A wash hand basin of metal (with or without a cover)
26	Si:ni	Tray, dish(a small flat plate)
27	rəka:bi	A broad flat dish , plate , bowl
28	si:pi ke bərtən	Utensil (like shell material)
29	Si:p	A shell
30	Šəkora:	A covering plate of pitcher or a plate which was used for serving food.
31	kərch̄a:	(a)A ladle spoon;

	kārčhul kārčhəli kārčhi	(b)An iron skimmer
32	kāfgi:r	A skimmer spoon ladle (generally perforated like a colander)
33	kālsa:	It's a vessel for using the water
34	kūṇḍi	A small tub or bucket pestle and mortar (esp. for grinding)
35	kofča:	A ladle spoon which is to be full of holes.
36	gāḍi	It's a type of rounded small vessel using for water etc.
37	loṭa:	It's a type of rounded small vessel used for water etc.
38	luṭi:ya:	A type of rounded small vessel used for water etc.
39	gulda:n	A flower pot/vase
40	lāgān	A brazen or copper pan in which the hands are washed or a kneading trough which is to be large.
41	māṭka:	A large earthen vessel which is used for storing water.
42	māṭki	A small earthen vessel used for storing water.
43	māraiya:	An earthen vessel
44	Čla:mni	An earthen vessel
45	hula:s	Snuff-box

List B

Terms of Food & Eatables

1.	əmiyā:	A small unripe mango
2.	əməčur	Mango parings dried in the sun
3.	ā:mrəs	Mango-milk shake
4.	bəgəd ki roṭi	A kind of bread
5.	ba:si tiba:si kha:na:	Stale food
6.	pətore	Type of food dish
7.	pəsənde	A kind of chopped meat dish which is prepared with other condiments as *ənjri:r, curd, onion, nutmeg, dhəniya, cumin seed, red chilli powder etc.
8.	pənpəti roṭi	A bread which is made of by water slap
9.	pənjiri	A medicine/type of dish composed of five ingredients (šugər, oil, flour, cumin seed etc) given to puerperal women.
10.	pəlethən	Dry flour
11.	pa:lək ka: sa:g	A sort of spinach
12.	pičhli ṭikiya:	A small cake of flour/dough which is remain after baking the bread.
13.	pinḍa:	Lump of food
14.	pinḍi	(a)A round dough (b)A delicious sweet made of dry fruits and cereals and severed by a bridegroom previous to the wedding.

15.	pi:čh	The water which is remain after boiling the rice
16.	phəṭkəṇ	Particles which remain after sifting or straining (flour etc.)
17.	tərka:ri	Vegetable
18.	Čaula:i ka: sa:g	A species of pot-herb
19.	Ča:r ba:ḍ zərda:	It's a type of rice which is cooked with four different colors.
20.	čikəṇ kəri	It's a type of chicken food dish
21.	Čhena:	A sweet meat made of curd
22.	Sa:guda:na:	It's a slight food for the patient which is prepared with milk, sugar, sagu: pudding , it is also coocked with water.
23.	Šuma:li roṭi	It's a type of bread
24.	Ši:rda:r	Milch, giving much milk
25.	Ši:rma:l	Bread with milk
26.	qəbuli	A kind of dish made up of rice and gram pulse (which is called khičri)
27.	qəla:qənd	A kind of sweetmeat
28.	qorma: pula:o	A very rich dish (pula:o) in which rice is coocked with broth(qorma:)
29.	kəgnī ča:wəl	It's a type of dish which is coocked with a lump of raw sugar.
30.	kulča:	(a)A small dise-shaped loaf, a cake of

		bread [made of flour milk and butter]
31.	kevka:	(b) A kind of sweetmeat.
32.	xəmiri roṭi	A sort of leavened bread
33.	xuški	Dry flour put under and over dough
34.	rəsa:wəl	Rice which is cooked in juice of sugarcane
35.	roḍəni roṭi	Bread mixed with or dipped into boiled butter
36.	ruma:li ɛəpa:ti	It's a type of bread
37.	sətbəxa:	A kind of dish which is made by mixing seven cereals.
38.	sətuā:nsa:	A feast given to a pregnant women by her parents in the seven month of her pregnancy
39.	Səhnəḱ	A small dish (an offering or ablation to Fatima)
40.	sa:t na:j ki roṭi	A type of bread which is made up of the mixture of the flour of [wheat, barley, gram, millet, maize etc,
41.	lauki ka: həlwa:	A kind of sweetmeat made of milk & gourd
42.	məṛoṛi	Remains of flour left after making doughs
43.	məqbuli	A dish which is to be sweetened and made up of rice, boiled gram pulse, milk inspissated by boiling,sugar
44.	məgzina:n	A type of bread which is made up of the

		mixture of the dry fruits poppy seed sugar, butter, flour, or fine (or the finest) flour or meal and chicken pieces etc.
45.	mānsəlwa:	It's a type of dish prepared with butter, rice, coconut, fine sugar and other dry fruits , (native) mengo , milk inspissated by boiling.
46.	mutənjən	A kind of dish in which meat is boiled in rice with spices ,sugar
47.	khəju:r gošt	It's a type of meat dish in which the flour dough were dipped into meat.
48.	khi:r	A dish made of rice and milk
49.	gəttə	A sweetmeat which is made up of a lump of raw sugar in the form of small round pieces.
50.	gəund	A kind of gelatinous sweetmeat
51.	gulqənd	A sweetened variety of medicine made of rose petals and sugar
52.	gulgule	A sweetcake fried in butter (wheat, flour sugar and curd with a { <u>anise</u> } and cardamom seeds made into balls shape of dumplings and fried in oil
53.	gholva:	(a)Intoxicating drink made of opium (b)Mixture made a watery mass (of a things)
54.	murōmusəlləm	It's a type of dish made up of dry fruits

		spices, onion,
55.	moti ũu:r ke lāḍḍu	A kind of sweetmeat
56.	nārgisi qāliya:	Collops
57.	nārgisi kāba:b	A kind of food dish which is made of roasted meat
58.	nārgisi kofte	A kind of dish cooked with pounded meat into the ball shape.
59.	nāha:ri kulče	It's a kind of bread prepared in a oil
60.	na:riyāḍi pulao	It's a type of food dish which is made up of [rice ,onion, coconut ,water of coconut , oil etc.

List C

Terms of Cooking & Food preparations

1	bhunna:	To parch , fried, grill
2	bhigona:	To wet, to soak
3	bhāga:rna:	To brown onions and spices in heated oil as s relish or seasoning for meat
4	pārolna:	Stirring
5	pāsa:na:	To pour off (superflous) water,inwhich any edible (as rice) has been boiled (in)
6	Pheṭna:	To beat up into froth(as egg)

7	təl̥na:	To be fried(in butter or oil)
8	tər̥ka: dena:	To brown onions in heated oil as a relish or seasoning in food
9	Čəṭka:na:	Dispose of , to get rid of (vegetables etc)
10	čhokəṇ	Seasoning spices with which food is seasonal
11	Čhokna:	To pour something into the oil that is being heat into the pot
12	čhəṇməṇ	The hissing sound produced by a drop of oil or water falling on a hot plate
13	Saṭdhna:	To mash, to press together
14	kočna:	To push ,thrust (stuff)
15	ghoṭna:	(a)To rub and stir(in order to mix) (b)To dissolve(by mixing or cooking)

Comments on the above lists :

- (1) The lists given above contain 120 words and each list contains different number of words. It was observed that the utensils terms like **ba:di:ya:, bərosi, bholva:, sərpoš, təṭeṭa: , kofča: Šəkora:** were confined to elderly females, whereas neither the male nor female of the younger generation was aware of these words. But aged males were aware of **bərosi, bholva:, təṭeṭa:, tha:l, tha:li təšla:, kulhəṭ, kəṛčha:, məṭraiya: gəḍi, luṭi:ya:, məṭka:**
- (2) The words like **tha:l ,tha:li, məṭki, məṭka:, kəṛčha:** are common to both male & female whether young or old.

- (3) The typical terms like **siləpçi**, **čiləməçi**, **čəpni**, **təbə:k**, **kəlsa:** , are totally conspicuous by their absence nowadays.
- (4) Terms like **bholva:**, **təteṛa:**, **gəḍi:** are neither common to males nor females of the young generation.
- (5) Similarly the words & expression such as **bəgəḍ ki roṭi**, **pənjiri**, **pičhli ṭiki:ya:** , **ča:r ba:g zərda:**, **sətuā:nsa:**, **gəund** were not known to the younger generation (whether male & female).
- (6)The term like **pənjiri** ,**sətuā:nsa:** ,**keṽka:** refer to very special dishes. These are sweetmeat which are given to women on the occasion of childbirth and these words are used exclusively by women .
- (7)The food preparation terms like **təlna:**, **bunna:**, **təṛka: dena:**,**pheṭna:** are common among males & females of either generation. But the terms **bhəga:rna:** inspite of **ṭərka: dena:** are confined to female. And the terms **kočna:** , **pərolna:**, **cəṭka:na:**, **nitha:rna:**, **pəsa:na:** are also confined to females all alike irrespective of their age.

Section 1.3: **Women's terms of Swearing, Curses and Contempt**

The present section covers the analysis of the terms of swearing, contempt & cursing that are often used by women. We have come across a total number of 86 vocabulary items relating to these specific areas. Out of these 85 words, (14 are terms of swearing , 71 words of cursing and contempts. We give below the two sets of lists of these words, List A & List B with their respective meanings:

List A
Terms of Swearing

1.	ā:čəl mē bā:dhna:	(a) To tie a knot in the mantle or sheet by a way of reminder (b) To bear in mind ; keep in memory
2	ima:n se	By God
3.	ba:t uṭha:na:	(a) to tolerate, to bear in silence (b) to gulp down one's words.
4.	ba:t pəlle bā:ndhna:	(a) to tie a knot in the mantle or sheet [by way of reminder] (b) keep in memory
5.	bunda: bəṛha:na:	To take of amulets etc [worn in consequence of a vow] when the vow is fulfilled.
6	tere sər ki qəṣəṁ	Swearing
7	teri: ja:n ki qəṣəṁ	Swearing
8	tumha:ri qəṣəṁ	Swearing
9.	čəlla: dhokər utha:na:	To observe or fulfill a vow
10	xuda: ki qəṣəṁ	By God
11	qəṣma: qəṣmi	(a) To take oath and also it is used as make terms or conditions [with] (b) Swearing on both sides.
12	qəṣəṁ utha:na:	To take oath as a vow
13	qəṣəṁse	By God
14	gireh mē ba:ndhna:	To tie a knot (in a handkerchief etc a reminder); to bear in mind.

List B

Terms of Curses &Contempt

1	əpne xuda: se pa:e	It's a curse, which means you get punishment for that by the God
2	əpne əlla:h se pa:e	It's a curse, which means you get punishment for that by the God
3	əɾha:i čullu ləhu pi:na:	It is used with much anger (curse)
4	əɾi pəɾ. kəɾ kha:na:	Eating hurriedly and greedily
5	əlla:h rəkkhe	May the evil eye be far removed
6	a:rsi to dekho	To taunt someone, not good looking [you please see the mirror]
7	ākhē pəṭəṁ hona:	It is used as a curse which means to become blind ,to burst and run out, to lose an eye.
8	ākhō mē xa:k	(a) to prove a very unpleasant sight (b) to be viewed with envy and dislike (c) to impose upon.
9	is ko či:l kəvvō ko dhū	Killing mercilessly [curse]
10	uɾəṇ joga:	To get ruined
11	bura: či:ta:	Ill wisher
12	buɾha:pa: aigəṭhna:	To taunt someone of old age
13	buɾhi khusəṭ	Very old
14	boba:	Belly (stomach used by the way of

		contempt)
15	boliyā: suna:na; ja:na:	(a)Make fun(of) (b)To taunt(curse)
16	bha:r mē ja:na:	To get destroyed
17	pāč phula: or phuli ra:ni	Slim, fragile, elegant, and it is used for those women who think or imagine themselves very beautiful and delicate [by the way of contempt]
18	pā:ni na: mā:ge	(a) Too ill or (b) In great trouble
19	pā:o pi:t pi:t kār mārna:	(a) The heels to rub [against the bad in dying and (b) To be in straitened circumstances during the dying period.
20	pā:o mē mēhdi lāgna:	Not able to walk.
21	phu:t phu:t kār nikle	To die painfully (curse)
22	thu:k uča:lna:	(a) to say evil things, (b) to spit (upon in contempt)
23	thu:thān	The mouth or snout used by the way of contempt and its is also used as [thu:thni]
24	thobrā:	Face but used in a way of contempt.
25	jālbila:na:	The act [way of burnt up, irritable and angry the heart on which having no control].
26	jālkukri	A jealous woman
27	jāletān	The heart to burn
28	jāle pār non	(a) to sprinkle salt on, to exult over one

	čhīṛākna lāga:na:	or (b) to insult.
29	jāna:za: nikle	To be dead
30	ču:lhe ki teri tāve ki meri	Wishing good for self and bad for others
31	ču:lhe mē ja:e	(a) to be cast or to go into the fire, (b) to get ruined
32	ču:lhe mē jhokna:	To cast into the fire which means to get ruined
33	xa:k pāṛe	To be ruined
34	xa:lse lāgna:	To be soiled, ruined
35	xuda: ki ma:r pāṛe	Punished
36	xuda: xuda: kāṛke	After a long waiting, delayed
37	daḍ hokār nikle	It is a curse which means suffer from leprosy
38	zāba:n kāṭṇa:	A curse
39	za:mī:n ka: pevānd hona:	To die
40	sa:t dha:r hokār nikle	Used for severe suffering vexation and distress.
41	surāt pe jharū phire	To crush down (a curse)
42	surāt kha:h mē mile	(a curse) means to die
43	kāṛi kha:e	To use harsh or severe language (to)
44	kāsa:o	rancor
45	kāfān ko lāge	To dead
46	kāl muhi	An evil woman
47	kāmbāxt ma:ri	Unlucky used as contempt
48	kosa:ka:i	(curse, malediction

49	kosna:	To curse
50	kokh-jəli	A barren woman
51	kokhē ləg ja:na:	The cavity of the abdomen (to sink in) the belly to skin in.
52	kha:ɬiya: kha:na:	God grant, he may die (a common form of cursing)
53	Kha:ri khoɬi suna:na:	To speak ill
54	khojre piɬi	(a) Having no trace (b) Vicious, unlucky
55	ghər kha:te	To be dead [go to grave]
56	gər ka: ǣ:gəŋ hona:	Ruined house
57	ghər gha:lna:	(a) To ruin or destroy (b) Its cause evil
58	ghər gəi	One whose house has to be destroyed; spoiled
59	mərən-joga:	Cursing, fit or deserving to die
60	məsosa:	Unfortunate
61	mənhu:s	Unfortunate
62	maut pəre	It is means, you die
63	miza:j piɬi	Ill tempered used as contempt
64	murda:- šune ja:e	It implies, you don't get a washer for the dead
65	merisaut	It's said by the way of contempt a the lady
66	na:spiɬe	Ill tempered, used as contempt
67	na:spiɬi	Ill tempered, used as contempt
68	na:s ja:e	To be destroyed

69	hāza:ri umr-	wishing long life, it is used by women in reply to salaam
70	ha:th ke ber na: kha:na:	Extreme hatred
	ha:th bhi na: lāga:ū/lāgva:ū	To see someone with low priority
71	yeh mu:ng aur māsu:r ki da:l	Undeserving to receive something

Comments on the above lists :

(1)The word list A refers to the swearing and the word list B refers to curses and contempts. Women's terms of swearing are quite limited. Although they are used exclusively by females, their frequency of occurrence is rather low.

(2)Such terms **ā:čāi mē bā:dhna:, ba:t uṭha:na:, ba:t pālle bā:ndhna:, bunda: bāṛha:na:, gireh mē ba:ndha:** are exclusively used by female folk.

(3) There is a great distinction between the young and the old generation. **ālla:h ki kāsām, kuda: ki kāsām, my God, for the sake of God. I swear** are used by the younger generation. Even the young males also use such terms. But the terms such as **teri ja:n ki kesām, ālla:h pa:k ki kesām, tere sār ki kāsām** are found to be used by females only.

(4) It is not only that females use words of contempt and curse but males also use them as is evidenced by the data collected. In fact males use more often such terms as (a) **āre dekha: he hāmne ziya:da: lākh**

pātti ka: čhoda: bānta: he (b)āre ek hi lai: he bāhān ki lōri .It is also observed that males use most vulgar terms which are very much taboo in the speech community. Most of the terms belong to the upper middle class who live in the locality of upper Fort . It may be said that social aspiration and class aspiration influence speech patterns.

The more quantitative sociolinguistic studies reveal that female speakers speak more prestigious forms and avoid stigmatized expressions. Formally they are more sensitive but lower class women make use of high proportion of the stigmatized forms. Generally the use of non - standard forms is associated with the working class women and with the males in general .

Though the present work deals with speech pattern, no class distinction is found in the use of words. Such terms **jālkukri, jāle pā non čhīrākhna: aur lāga:na:, phu:ṭ phu:ṭ kār nika:lā:, pā:o pl:ṭ pl:ṭ kār mārna: ,sa:t dha:r hokār nikle aur, āri: pārkār kha:na:** are used by females and particularly by old women. It is found that other terms like **pā:o mē mēhdi lāgna:, ču:lhe mē jā:e, bha:ṭ mē jā:e ,ainē mē surāt dekhna:** are used by males and females aged between 20 and 30 - 35.

Section 1.4 Color terms and terms for clothing and dress:

This section is devoted to the analysis of colour terms and certain specific terms for clothing and dress used by women.. In this context two sets of lists are given below. There are 45 items of dressing and clothing vocabulary and 33 words are related to colour items as is apparent from the list.

List A

Color Terms

1	ka:la:	Black
2	ni:la:	Blue
3	pi:la:	Yellow
4	hōra:	Green
5	sōfed	White
6	gula:bi	Light pinck
7	tōrbu:zi	Water melon
8	fi:rozi	Dark sky blue
9	dha:ni:	Light green
10	totiya:	Parrot green
11	piya:zi	Very light pink
12	za:fra:ni	Saffron
13	jogiya:	Dark yellow
14	pistai	Light green
15	bhu:ra:	Brown
16	ja:mni:	Dark purple
17	ka:sni:	Light purple
18	sileṭi:	Grey
19	fa:xtai	Dark brown
20	fa:lsai	Dark purple
21	du:diya:	Milky

22	unna:bi	Maroon
23	u:da:	Dark blue
24	dhənəḱ	Multicoloured
25	čitkəbra:	Spotted
26	sunehra:	Golden
27	rupehla:	Multi color
28	ra:ni	Dark pink
29	ēgguri	Light green
30	a:sma:ni	Sky blue
31	na:rəŋji	Orange coloured
32	sərso	Yellow, mustered
33	məṭmela:	Off-white

ListB

Terms for Clothing and Dress

1	ətlaš	Quality of cloth
2	ēngiya:	Brassaiar.
3	ā:čəl	The hem of a cloth is used to cover the bosom
4	ā:nkh ka: nəša:	quality of cloth
5	ičək da:na:	Quality of cloth
6	iza:rbənd	A belt for trouser
7	iski:bi	Half sweater

8	ũ:ni	Woolen
9	bənəṭ	Having or adorned with gold or silver ending, lance, bond or ribbon on a mantle
10	bǎ:kṛi	A special kind of gold/silver lace
11	bilauz	The dress of women worn along a long piece of cloth which women wrapped round the body (sa:ṛi)
12	brokiṭ kəpra:	Type of cloth
13	pəllu	Edge / hem of a garment
14	pəllu:da:r	A garment edge which can be easily used for covering the body.
15	Pən-kəpra:	A soft wet cloth for betel-leaf so they do not get dry.
16	pot ka: kəpra:	Quality of cloth (which is called banarasi kəpra:.)
17	pešwa:z	A full dress gown (reaching a little below the knee specially worn by a dancing girl or bride girl.
18	pemāk	Gold/silver lace or brocade (used for the border of a dress)
19	peza:r	(a)A slipper (b) Shoe fighting or mutual beating with slipper.
20	təng pəja:mi	It is dress (čuṛida:r pəja:mi)- like as to be crumpled into plaits - worn by women

21	təni	The string or fastening of a garment
22	tui:	Ornamental lace, ending
23	ɛəmpa:	A type of gold/ silver lace
24	Čunni Čuna:ri	A sheet worn by women
25	xa:n-po š	covering cloth of a tray
26	dil ki piya:z	It is a quality of cloth
27	dhoti šəlwa:r	A cloth round the waist passing between the legs like trousers (reaching to the feet]
28	zere ja:ma:	Undergarments
29	šəra:ra:	It is a type of women dress
30	si:na:bənd	A stomacher or it's a type of chest band mostly used by women for children.
31	su:raiya:	It is a type of quality of the cloth
32	əðra:ra:	It is a type of women dress
33	fəɾši pəja:ma:	It is a type of dress
34	fəɾši əðra:re	It is type of women's dress which was earlier used.
35	kəla: bəttu	Silk thread covered with gold/silver twisted together or fringe.
36	kirən	Tassel (of gold or silver)
37	khəɾa: dupəttə;	It is a type of mantle.
38	goṭ	The hem/border of a garment

39	gota:	Gold/Silver ending
40	goṭa kina:ri	Ending of gold/silver
41	goṣa:	Corner/hem of the garment
42	gha:ghra: gha:ghri	A petticoat
43	lāhriya: dupṭṭa:	A sheet to be plaited (crumpled)worn by women
44	māṣru	Quality of cloth, it is type of silk / cotton mixed.

Comments on the above lists :

(1) Males seem to possess fewer colour terms in their speech repertoire. Since they are concerned with very basic colour terms, their vocabulary is also very limited.

(2) Usually women have the distinction of making a sound judgement about colours. Many words are used for light dark and bright shade of different colours, for example **piya:zi, gula:bi, tərbu:zi, unna:bi, ra:ni** etc.

These colours represent more or less different shades of red (colour). Similarly, **ja:mni, ka:sni, fa:lsai**, are colours that seem to be much the same but it is to be noted that **ka:sni** is lighter shade than that of **ja:mni** and **fa:lsai**.

Likewise **dha:ni, totiya:, pistai** refer to the finer shades of green . Men are uninformed of all these delicate shades of colours .Consequently their speech is completely devoid of all the finer shades of different colours.

(3) As regard the terms of clothing and dress, there are in total 44 words out of which only 15 are used by men. Words *ətləʃ* , *ā:čəl*, *iski:bl*, *bila:uz*, *pəllu*, *təŋ* *pəja:ma:*, *dhoti-ʃəlvə:r*, *iza:rbənd*, *ʃəra:ra:*, *gera:ra:* have also been used by males.

(4) It has also been observed that generally elderly women make use of words such as *i:čəkda:na:* , *bənət* , *pəʃva:z* , *tu:i* , *xə:npoʃ* , *suraiya:* and *məʃru*

Section 2. Women's specific expressions

The women specific expressions basically include euphemism, abuses idiomatic expression. The corpus of such women's specific expression consists of seven hundred sixty eight(768) expressions.

2.1 Euphemistic Expressions

Euphemism is a word which is used as a substitute for often polite, gentle and indirect expressions. A polite word or a phrase that is used to a controversial and an indiscreet activity. But a euphemism may also be funny humorous and witty depending on the context of the statement. It may also contain a level of vagueness of the statement.

Euphemism is used in place of offensive, harsh, or blunt statement. "To pass away" is a euphemism for "to die". It means to express everyday realities. They are those words that we use to soften the reality of what we are communicating to addressers and they are the universal features of language usage. All cultures typically use them to talk about things they find terrifying, e.g. sickness, death. Generally, we use euphemisms to express what is socially difficult in direct terms.

Below is a short glossary of euphemistic expressions.

1 *a:s se hona:* : To be pregnant

- 2** peṭ se hona: : Pregnant
- 3** pure dinõ se hona: : To approach the full period of
ya: pure din hona: pregnancy
- 4** aiya:m : Days of or (near to) menstruation
- 5** ðpni guṛiya: sēvā:rna:: -To arrange for the marriage of one's
daughter
- 6** a:i bḍhu a:ya: ka:m : Expression of distress or discontent
gai bḍhu gāya: ka:m
- 7** kḍčče pḍkke din : Initial stage or days of pregnancy

Original words are difficult to talk about,because they can disturb or embarrass the person who is addressing. For these we make use of euphemism which are soften and balmy than the original words.For instance, "death" is often talked about such as 'pass away',in terms of euphemism.

When a phrase is used as a euphemism, it often becomes a metaphor whose literal meaning is dropped.It may be used to hide unpleasant or disturbing ideas,even when the literal term for them is not necessarily offensive.Such type of euphemism is used in public relations.

2.2 Abusive Expressions

Abusive language means very informal use of the language that is characteristically more playful vivid than ordinary language. It is socially characterized as vulgar and taboo language.

It is a kind of language occurring chiefly and typically in place of standard terms. Abusive means wrong or improper use of language. it means to lose the privilege of the language. It's to hurt someone or

injure by maltreatment and ill use of the language. It also focuses upon sexual activity, and to throw insulting words at someone.

Abuse is a kind of expression which designates lack of respect. It refers to the wounding mentality and signifies foul-mouthed or obscene use of language. Abusive language denotes a rude expression intended to offend or hurt someone. It expresses pain, anger, and frustration. It insults someone directly or indirectly. It can not be used especially in polite company for example:

1	ēnga:re	Lustful woman
2	a:g pəṛna:	To be sexual
3	ā:nkh sēkna:	To be watching with lust
4	čhəkka:	A loose charactered woman
5	udhəl hona:	To be full of lust, long for carnal
6	bəḍza:	Bad disposition
7	bəza:ru	Of low moral
8	burqe mē čhi:čṛe ləga:na:	To play foul
9	bhəṛua:	A pimp
10	bhəgoṛa:	Runaway, fugitive
11	bhəṛa:s	Release pentup feelings

2.3 Idiomatic Expressions

An idiom is an expression, word or phrase whose sense means something different from what the words literally imply. It is an expression, word or phrase that has figurative meaning; its implication can be comprehended only through common use, whereas the literal meaning of the idiom, is concerned itself does not communicate its meaning as a figurative usage.

Another use of Idiomatic expression is it's having several meanings, sometimes simultaneously, sometimes discernable from the context of its usage. An idiom is generally a term requiring some foundational knowledge, information, or experience, to use only within a culture, where conversational parties must possess common cultural references. Therefore idioms are not considered part of the language, but part of the culture.

Although idiomatic expressions are found in most languages, they often vary regionally and provide immense difficulties to people trying to learn a second language.

An expression from Urdu language is *sā:p sū:ng ja:na:* .The literal meaning is to 'smell snake', which is completely different from its idiomatic uses.

When some emotional and loud person either stands erected in front of many or gets confused terribly or becomes frightened and as a

result suddenly becomes quit, we use this expression sometimes ironically and sometimes otherwise.

Urdu is rich in idiomatic expressions. The meaning of an idiom is not straight forward in comparison with the meaning of its parts. The following is the list of idiomatic expressions found in the repertoire of women:

1	əpna: sa: mũh lena:	To humiliate oneself
2	əpni guṛiya: səvā:r dena:	To arrange for the marriage of one's daughter, it is related to the dowry arrangement of the daughter.
3	əṭhvā:nsa:	A eight month child
4	əčča: bəčča:	A child in sound health and healthy
5	əčči	O! dear friends(used for female friends) women used it affectionally for addressing their intimate friendships
6	əčču ləgna:	Continuous hiccups
7	əčhvā:ni	A coudle or gruel given to puerperal (a child birth women)
8	əlla:h əlla:h	(inter:) to nourish or cherish the child with prayer and fasting with great care.
9	əlla:h alla:h kərna:	To call upon God
10	əlla:h miā: ki ga:e	(a)An artless or simple person (b)A foolish person
11	əṛəng bəṛəng	(a)To be spread (b)Scattered

12	ḍrna:	Adament
13	ḍsba:b	Reasons
14	ḍkḍr	Stiffness
15	ḍngul	Finger's breath
16	ḍngušt	Finger's breath
17	ḍlla:h bhuli: ba:t	A very wrong and sinful act
18	ḍrdḍli utḍrva:na:	(a)A crowd of lewd/ indecent fellows to fall(on- commonly applied to rush made upon a harlot by number of loosemen) (b)To keep illicit sexual relations with many person.
19	ḍngiya:	(a)Body-limb (b)Bressiar
20	ḍnga:re	Lustful woman
21	aiyā :m	Days of or near to menstruation
22	aiya:r	cunning
23	aiya:š	Lustful
24	aiya:ši	Lustfulness
25	a:h	A sound which sprout by getting injury
26	a:ṭe ka: čira:Ÿ	Something important but difficult to keep maintain
27	a:ṭe ki: a:pa:	Foolish or innocent woman used as a affection.
28	aṭh aṭha:ra:h kḍrna:	To destroy
29	a:ṭa: gila: kḍrna:	To moisten and leaven flour
30	a:s se hona:	To be pregnant

31	a:ṭh aṭh ā:sū rona:	To remember someone desperately
32	a:gpa:ni	Epilepsy
33	a:ga: ta:ga: lena:	(a)To look after (b)Attend to
34	a:ge a:na:	Not to observed veil
35	a:h na: a:i:	Not to feel regret sorrow or sigh (for or because of)
36	a:i: bəhu a:ya: ka:m gai: bəhu gəya: ka:m	Expression of discontent and distress
37	a:g pəṛna:	(a)To be envy (b)Enraged(at) (c)To feel grief,hungry etc (d)To be sexual
38	a:i: ki: bhu:l ja:na:	Senses to be losts
39	a:čḍl lena:	(a)To touch the border or hem of a guest's garment as a sign of welcome. (b)To wipe the hands with the sheet of the bride or bridegroom's mother
40	ā:i	Interj.showing surprise
41	ai:ya:r	Cunning
42	āiya:ṣ̌i	Lustfullness
43	ā:kho mūndi:	A innocent girl(also used in the sense of foolish woman)
44	ā:kh sēkna:	To be watching with lust
45	ā:khō ā:khō	Love at first sight

	mē	
46	ismāṭ	Chastity
47	iza:r mē ḍalkār pehānna:	Feel no care or concern(for) indifferent(to used by women to humiliate)
48	irva:h	(a)Spirits (b)Souls
49	isko ḥupa:ū usko nika:lū:	Resembling situations
50	Ūn	He(for husband)
51	Udheṛna:	To unfurl
52	ulḍamba:	(a)Hard-swelling (b)Swollen gland; tumor
53	Uḥha:l ḥhḍkka:	A loose characterized woman
54	udma:ti	(a)Frantic (b)Lustful (c)Morbidly desires
55	udhḍl hona:	To be full of lust (b) Long for carnal
56	uṛ ja:na:	To escaped with
57	Uṛna:	To run away
58	ulḥḍt	(a)To cultivate friendship(with) (b)To be intimate(with)
59	U:pḍrtḍle	One after the other
60	Ui: ,	(a)Emphatic , that very expressing pleasure, (b)Pain,fear, surprise(used by

		women)
61	U:h	An exclamation of pain, distress
62	Oja:la:	Washer man(with bad tast)
63	Oja:li:	Washer woman(with bad tast)
64	osər ke dosər hona:	(a)To have to pay instead of receiving (b)To be drawn into difficulty (c)To be or become a loser (by)
65	Okna:	To vomit
66	Oh	Exclamation of surprise, pain distress
67	Oho	Pleasure(interj)
68	auffo	Showing resentment(interj.)
69	ausa:n gāi	To lose one's
70	aur na: čhor	Useless funny talk
71	aula: hona:	(a)To be angry (b)To be over taken by misfortune
72	auliya əlla:h	(a)Friends(of God) (b)Holy-person
73	elo	Interj.
74	ehā:	Interj.
75	ehe	Interj.
76	bədzat	Bad disposition
77	bədzəba:n	Foul mouthed
78	bəd šəgun	Ill omend, unluckily
79	bəd qoma:	Be a evil minded
80	bərmā:	A boasting woman
81	bəṛhti:	(a) Augmentation (b) enhancement.
82	bəṭorəṇ	Sweepings

83	bətləðçe	To talk much
84	bərbəṛ	Useless talk
85	bəkbəḱ	Useless talk
86	bəṛbola:	To boast
87	bəṛ muhi:	
88	bəḱəṛ bəḱəṛ	(a) To speak sharply (b) excessive talking
89	bəl bəl ja:na:	(a)To be sacrificed (b)devoted oneself for
90	bəlaiyā: lena:	To draw the hand over the head of once and then cracks the finger in taken of taking all his/ her misfortunate upon oneself (it's a practice among women)
91	bəṛa čilla:	(a) The period of forty days after child birth during which a women remains unclean (b) The ceremony of purification. (c) mistress
92	bədhə:i dena:	To inform or invite congratulations(hope of issue "in the language of women")
93	bəṭule bəna:na:	(a) Talking (one) into over reaching, (b) To boast.
94	bəṭule dena:	To be duped
95	bəṭule mē a:na:	To get trapped
96	bəḱ bəla:	Evil spirit
97	bəḱha:nna:	(a)To expound (b) To name with opprobrium

98	bə'nita:	(a) Women (b) Wife (c) Mistress
99	bə'nao dena:	(a) To suit (b) A good understanding to exist (between or with)
100	bə'ndhej	Persistence, Prohibition
101	bə'nna:	Bridegroom
102	bə'nni	Bride
103	bə'nno	Bride
104	bə'ra: di:da:	(a) A wanton look (b) Impudent
105	baodə'ndi	To wonder without purpose
106	bə'za:ru	Of low moral
107	ba:si: ghər ā:gə'n	It means not to get [a dwelling place] swept
108	ba:t čhu: na: ja:na:	Different from other family members
109	ba:dəl rūnd rūnd kər a:na:	Making someone sad
110	ba:s	Offensive smell
111	ba:sna:	(a) Desire (b) Inclination
112	ba:l bə'ra:bər	Little bit
113	ba:l bika: na: hona:	Nothing wrong
114	ba:kpən	

115	biṭṭān	Little daughter (it's spoken in a affection)
116	biṭha:e rākhna:	To keep detain [a marriageable or married daughter] at home.
117	bičhauna:	A baby's bedsheet be laid out on the bed.
118	biṛa:	It 's a sign of bethrothal
119	bijli: bāsānt	A cleaver woman
120	bisbhāri	(a) Heart- tormenting (b) Acrimonious
121	biḷsna:	(a)To be pleased (b)To enjoy oneself
122	biḷkna:	To sob or cry violently
123	bi:bi:	Lady (used in addressing female)
124	bi:s ha:ndiō ka: māza: čākhna:	Lustful woman
125	bura: pair	Unfortunate
126	bura: hiḍra:	To a miserable plight
127	bura: a:za:r	A disease (T.B.)
128	buṛhi jārva:	An old lady
129	buha:ri	Sweeper (woman)
130	bua:	(a) A maid servant (b) Father's sister
131	burqe mē čhi:čre lāga:na:	To play foul
132	bu:ṛhi xusāṭ	A decrepit old woman
133	be a:ra:mi	Restlessness

134	be sət	Tasteless
135	be sudh	Senseless
136	behuda:	Ill mannered
137	beza:r	Annoyed
138	be əsba:b	Without goods or effects having no effects
139	be ba:q	Paid up in full
140	be paōsər	Having no sense
141	bokhla:na:	To loss presence of mind
142	bhəṛua:	(a) one who lives on the earnings of a prostitute, (b) A man who pass his time by idle talking (c) A pimp.
143	bhəgoṛa:	(a)Runaway (b) fugitive
144	bhəṛkda:r	Refulgent
145	bhəsəṛ	A crowded place
146	bhədḍər bhədḍər bha:gna:	(a)The way of running (b)The sluggish and fatty woman
147	bhəl bhəl uja:la:	Broad daylight
148	bhəla: ma:nəs	Courteous
149	bhəla: čənga:	(a) in sound health (b) in good order or condition
150	bhəṛa:s	Release pentup feelings
151	bha:sna:	Be known

152	bhai	Used as emphatic particle
153	bha:r	Wages of prostitution
154	bha:re ka: tāt̥tu	The slave of necessity or habit.
155	bhidna:	(a) To penetrate (b) To sever (the smell mixed up of something's into some others thing)
156	bhulāsna:	((a) to be burnt, (b) scorch [suffering anguishness and to bear more oppression]
157	bhunna:	Scorched, burnt up, enraged.
158	bhogna:	To take or receive pleasure or pain with indifference.
159	bhāudu	Stupid fellow, foolish person.
160	pāllu	Hem of a garment
161	pāllu da:r	A garment edge which can be easily used for covering the body
162	pātthār t̥le ha:th nika:l̥na:	To be free from difficulties , to get relief from big miseries.
163	pēt̥ng čh̥r̥i	An vicious or mischievous woman
164	pāt̥k̥n	Uneasiness, restlessness
165	pār̥chā:vā:	Influence (of an evil spirit)
166	pānkh̥iyā:	A small fan (dim of pānkh̥a:)
167	pānkh̥r̥i	Petals
168	pa:k hona:	To take bath after [menstruation]
169	pa:ō muri:d	Be a slave of
170	pa:pini	(a) female delinquent

		(b) wicked woman
171	pəturiya:	Harlot
172	pətu:rba:z	Whore monger
173	pa:s a:ləgna:	To come near, it is used for those who without permission or consent try to come close.
174	pa:ō mē čhəčhundār	A widely wondering person.
175	pa:poš	Covering the foot, slipper ,shoe
176	pa:s a:na: aur pa:s ja:na:	To meet (used for husband and wife intimate relation
177	pā:ni lena:	Purify as after urimal or sex
178	pā:ni va:r kār pi:na:	To show extreme affection
179	pā:ō bha:ri hona:	To become pregnant
180	pāēča: bha:ri hona:	An idle lady ; slow in motion.
181	pā:nč ha:th ki zəba:n	Loquacity, scurrility (to use foul language
182	pā:ni būndi	Rainy season
183	pā:ni ke a:ge pa:ṛ ba:ndhna:	Greatest tolerance
184	pā:o pāṛna:	To beg for mercy
185	pā:o se lāgi sārse bhuji	to get angry, to be roused with angry
186	piṭa:ri ka: xārč	The allowance made to a wife .

187	pičhle dārje	Extreme very low quality.
188	pičhvāṇḍi baiṭhna:	To sit by turning the back.
189	piṛhi	It's a type of small stool/seat on which by sitting something is grind.
190	pinpina:na:	To twang, to which or whistle with anger
191	pičhli: ṭikiya:	A small cake of flour/ bread which is remain after baking the bread
192	piṛa: hona:	To pain of childbirth
193	pinḍa:	(a) The body person, (b) Lamp of food
194	pi:čh	The water which is remain after boiling the rice.
195	puṭla:	A large bundle
196	puṭki:	Any evil affection
197	pu:re din hona: ya: pu:re dinō se hona:	To approach the full period of pregnancy
198	pu:rna:	To fill up, act of filling [ingredients] in bread etc.
199	paisa: ṭhekri kārma:	To spend generously
200	phāppās	Flabby woman or men
201	phāphādna:	Suddenly come out the much more pimple over the skin.
202	phāṭkān kha:na:	A sudden death
203	phāṭkān	Particles which remain after shifting or straining (flour etc).
204	phāska:ra: ma:rkār baiṭhna:	Sitting on the ground with the legs extended

205	phəl ka: nəya: kārna:	To offer money or goods in the name of prophet after seeing the first loaf of a fruit.
206	phəlphəla:na:	To drop and taken out the cloths into the water perfectly so that the soap could not be remain
207	phəlārva:	Frail like the flowers
208	phu:l a:na:	(a)The menses to came on (b)adolescence of girls
209	phisālla: ma:r kār baiṭhna:	Sitting on the ground with the legs extended
210	peṭ poḥṭh	Last born,
211	peṭ ḍa:lina:	To cause abortion
212	peṭ rehna:	To conceive
213	peṭ se	Pregnant
214	peṭ gira:na: / girna:	To cause abortion
215	peṭ wa:li	Pregnant
216	təṭṭri:	Unfortunate woman.
217	təlčhṭ	Sediment
218	təla: dena:	(a)To paste bottom of an utensil with clay; (b)thorough cleaning or sweeping out, (c)a slap of earthen
219	təna:vār	Thick
220	təṭṭa: ta:o	Instantly
221	tətu thāmbu	To interpose support a patching up [as of quarrel etc]

222	tər tər ka:ri:	Fresh green and moist [esculent fit to be used as food] vegetables
223	tərša: hua:	Well shaped
224	təršən	Remaining of cloth or etc. after cutting and stitching.
225	təra:šna:	(a) to cut out, (b) carve shape, form
226	təra:k se bolna:	To speak in quick succession
227	tərkaṁm tərka:	(a) to make fight (b) Angriiness (c) separation
228	tərma:l	Luxurious
229	təsəvvur	Imagination
230	təsbi:h hona:	To make repeated request [for]
231	təlkh miza:j	Ill-tempered (for)
232	təlaiya:	A small tank or pond
233	təmgā: biṭha:na:	(a) to establish (one's) rule or authority etc. (b) to impress
234	təha:təhi	One upon or over another fold within fold; plait by plait
235	təba:ṛəḱ ki roṭi	An ugly woman
236	təte pəṛna:	(a) to be disgraced. (b) disreputed
237	tərtərya:	Cunning woman
238	təlčhū na:čhu kərna:	To be restless
239	təla: upəṛ	One after the other
240	təni peṭ ka:	Seeking pleasure

	māza:	
241	təni:s	The feminine gender
242	ta:k lena:	To get informed
243	ta:gna:	(a) Thread (b) To thread (a needle and only used for blanket quilt and hard clothes'
244	ta:o bigəṛna:	(a)The lost of the meal or sweat -meal to be bad or changed (b)Be enraged
245	tā:ta ləgna:	To come in great number
246	tā:nsna:	To threaten
247	totye jəṛna:	False accusation
248	toṛe wa:li	Respectfully, of prestige but women used it by the way of contempt.
249	ti:s ma:r	A brave man
250	ti:ha:	Wrath, vehemence of manner
251	thəka: bail	An old man
252	thəkel ma:ri	A bad characterized woman
253	thəṇḍa: rəkhna:	To satisfy or please (someone)
254	`thutka:riyā:	Fetters(captivity restraint)
255	təpka: təpki ləgna:	Continuous dropping, dripping
256	təpke ka: dər	To be over taken by a calamity from heaven
257	təṭṭiyā:	It is placed in a door ways and kept constantly wet with the view of cooling the air of house
258	təka:	one coin
259	təka: sa: jəwa:b	A quick refusal, ready for answer instantly

260	ṭṭsue bṭha:na:	False or hypocritical tears
261	ṭa:pna:	To move out
262	ṭa:le ba:le(bṭta:na:)	To practice delay, constantly post pending something.
263	ṭuṭṭn	Pieces of a broken glass or earthen object
264	ṭu:mna:	To insert something as cloth
265	ṭum ṭhṭlla: pa:s na: hona:	Very poor.
266	ṭū:gna:	Pecking and nibbling
267	ṭoṭke kṭrna:	(a) to perform a superstitious remedy, (b) to practice incantations
268	ṭok	The influence of an evil eye
269	ṭokṭm ṭok	Correct weighing
270	ṭesu ke phu:l	The blossom of the Butea
271	ṭhṭṭha: ma:rna:	(a)To raise a laugh (b) To make a laughing stock (of)
272	ṭhṭṇṇa:.. kṭrna:	To break (one's) bangles (as a woman does on the death of her husband. The verbe "thandi karna" being used superstitiously for [tor.na:] and it's a mark of widowing.
273	ṭha:ṭ	Luxurious
274	ṭhi:rṭn	Extreme cold
275	ṭhuṭṭi mē ha:th dena:	To Flatter
276	ṭhes ma:ri ja:na:	Striking the foot (against on obstacle)
277	jṭlbila:na:	The act (way of burnt up, irritable and angry) the heart on which having no

		control.
278	jəlkukɾi	A jealous woman
279	jəletən	The heart to burn.
280	jəle pər non čhiɾəkna: aur ləga:na:	(a) To be insult (b) To exult over one in trouble or distress
281	jəma: juttha:	Assets, collections and balances
282	jəũ təũ kərke	By some mean or other, by any means, as it could be done.
283	jəhā: na: ja:e rəvi: vəhā: ja:e kəvi:	<u>jəhā: surəj ki kirən bhi nəhī pəhāučti</u> <u>vəhā: ša:yər ka: xya:l pəhāuč ja:ta:</u> <u>he</u>
284	Jibha:	Spirit, courage
285	ji: bura: kərna:	(a) to displease (b) to grieves to take offence
286	ji: bikhərna:	To feel nausea
287	ji: təle upər hona:	Vomiting
288	ji dhəna:	(a) The heart to sink, (b) to faint
289	jore t̃ā:kna:	To stich clothes of bride to be in a highly decorative way.
290	jhəppa:n	To take a nap of a patient because of the debility of disease . (b) To laying, by closing the eyes.
291	jhək-a: -jhək	Bright, shining
292	jhək ma:rna:	(a) To talk in coherently (b) To pull a long bow
293	jha:ɾ pončh kərna:	Sweepings
294	Jha:ɾ jhu:ɾna:	Dusting

295	jhuṭail ḍurāt	A cast off woman
296	jhu:ṭa:l	Left over food
297	jhu:ṭa:l dena:	(a)Oscillation / the motions of a swing (b) to cause to taste.
298	jhōkna:	(a) To bear down upon (b) Leaning over
299	čṭka:na:	To stir continuously
300	čṭrbā :nk	(a)Smart in (conversation) (b)Impudent
301	čṭk čṭk londe kha:na:	Eat fabously or luxuriously
302	čṭmpṭ	To run/ move away
303	čṭmṭkko	A passionate or quarrelsome woman, a want on woman
304	čaē čaē kṛna:	(a)To talk idly (b)gabble
305	čaē bolna:	To get defeated
306	čṭuka:	A square piece of ground being first plastered in with cowdung.
307	čṭuka: bṛtṇ kṛna:	To plaster and prepare a space for cooking and scrub the pots and pans.
308	čaūnčli ha:i	(a) eudearing arts and expression, (b) toyishness, pleasantly
309	čit	Lying flat [on the back]
310	čipṭkna:	In women's language it is used for having relations.
311	čipṭṇa: /čupṭṇa:	To oil to gloss over
312	čita:na:	(a) to touch the heart, to affect (b) to approve itself (to)

		(c) to cause to deserver
313	čira:hənd	The smell of burning flesh, leather, bones etc
314	čik	(a) curtain made of split, bamboo (b) pain in lower back
315	čikkəṭna:	Covered with grease and, dirt and illclad
316	čikni: čupri: ba:tē bəna:na:	To use oily speech; to speak plausibly
317	čulha: jhokna:	To feed a fire, To head an oven
318	čhəttisi	A prude, an artful woman
319	čhəlɲi mē ɖa:lkəɽ čha:j mē uɾa:na:	To get a bad name by multiplying words
320	čha:ti: gədra:na:	The breast to swell (in a young woman)
321	čhičhu:	Filth , it is used for child's.
322	čhidde mudde	Used as term of love and affection when talking with children.
323	čhipkəli: si:	Weak and fragile woman
324	čhi:čhi:	Filth , it is used for child's potty.
325	čhi:na:r	It's a foul language
326	čhi:jna:	Boasting
327	čhočhək	A ceremony observed after child birth as gifts are given from maternal grandparents
328	hərbe zərbe	(a)Frequently , occasionally (b)now & then ©Sometime or other time

329	həl̩kə̃m ɖalna:	(a)To make panic struck (b)To be thrown into confusion
330	hə̃ra:ra: dena:	To defraud
331	hə̃la:l xorə̃n	A female sweeper
332	hə̃la:l zə̃da:h	It's a contempt for someone who is illegitimate child
333	hə̃va:s ba:xta:	To recover or come to one's senses
334	hə̃va:s pə̃kə̃ɽna:	To recover or come to one's
335	hə̃va:s kho	Senses to be lost
336	xə̃sə̃m	Used for husband (mostly in anger]
337	xə̃šə̃m pĩti	[used as a male- diction] may your husband die.
338	xa:la: ki xəl̩ bə̃čči	Someone showing, imposing oneself as very close one
339	xurčə̃n	Dregs
340	xuda: lə̃gti	To speak the truth, say what is right
341	xuda:i xwa:r	Despised by the world
342	xuda:- e- xauf	Fear of God
343	xu:ma:ri čə̃ɽna:	(a)The effect of drinking (b) or drowsiness or of love
344	xila:i kə̃rna:	The occasion of marriage which means a person who being married, to gain wait.
345	xela:	A careless woman
346	xela: pačča:	Playfull, untidy(dirty-slovenly) woman
347	də̃rdə̃ra:	Bruised
348	də̃rd a:na:	(a) to be affected with compassion (b) labor pain
349	də̃rdě	Labor pain

350	dərdsā:	The loss of respect
351	desu:thān	It is an idiom which is used by Hindus woman for the bathing after the ten days of delivery [of a child]
352	dāṛṭhge(lāga:na:)	Leaping&jumping
353	dāha:na:	To set fire on a hearth
354	da:g lāgna:	To be damaged or to get a bad name
355	da:g kārna:	To heat/warm the oil & butter for making the pulse testing; to mark pulse by heated oil and butter .
356	da:mān bāndi	To marry a girl to an old man.
357	da:i	A woman comes at the birth of child (for delivery)
358	dā:to ki missi:	It's a type of tooth powder
359	dil joi kārna:	To study the inclination or wish (of) to try to please
360	din a:na:	Menstruation days.
361	dida: čārbā:nk	Saucy-eyed/ fearless
362	didō dhoi	(a) bold,impudent (b) Saucy-eyed
363	diwa:r -o- dār	House and Surrounding
364	dukhṛa: rona:	To bewail (one's)
365	dulākna:	To regard with an evil eye
366	dukhya:	Afflicted to suffering; sufferer.
367	du:sraũ ke utrān	Clothes takes from the others
368	do ji: se hona:	To be pregnant
369	do - jiya:	A pregnant woman

370	degči: čaṇa:	It's a superstition among Indian women that licking the post brings about the ill- luck of a fall of rain on the Wedding procession of the person given to this habit, hence on such occurrence they abuse the bridegroom for having licked the pot and yet this is misconception about own if ti happens on such ocaassion.
371	degči: khəṇəṇa:	It means resound preparation for a feast to be going on
372	dhəṛ	Lower part of a body
373	dha:ra:	Miserable plight
374	dhāuta:l	A fat,lazy woman
375	ḍəra:vni	Awesome
376	ḍəkausna:	(a)To embezzle (b)To eat more fast or greedily
377	ḍa:kna:	(a) to vomit (b) to callout roar
378	dā:tō ḍəṇa:	To provoke the envy, for hatred (of)
379	ḍī:mra:	Innnersore, tumour
380	ḍoli:	A kind of sedan [for women]
381	ḍola: uḥa:lna:	A woman to be disgrace with other man because of the presence of her husband.
382	ḍhopra:	To callout roar an old broken or dilapidated house or wall
383	dhol ta:še bḍja:na:	To exaggerate

384	ḍhǫng	Cheating trickery
385	ḍhēda:	A large belly in women's language it is used for illegitimacy (pregnancy]
386	rḍti:	Luck
387	rḍt jḍga:	A vigil
388	rḍhna:	To have Illicit relations
389	ra:r mḍča:na:	(a)to creat a disturbance (b)To complaint with affection
390	ra:i ka: pḍha:r	To exaggerate
391	ra:i ka:i kḍrna:	Reduced to small pieces or atoms
392	roṭiyā: lḍgna:	(a)violating faith (b)Matter of dispute
393	roa:s	Inclination to cry or weep
394	rolḍn	Anything picked out(anything from the rubbish mixed with it by shaking or tossing it)
395	reṭh pi:ṭna:	(a)To follow the track (of) (b)To follow old customs
396	revṛi: ke pher mē a:na:	(a)To fall into the complications
397	zḍbā:n dḍra:z	Foul mouthered
398	zḍbā:n tḍle zḍbā:n	(a)To depart from (one's)word (b)To say one thing and another
399	zḍrra: zḍhu:r	A little
400	ṣḍṭḍllo	A silly proting woman, a slovenly woman
401	.sḍṭputi	A very lucky woman (a woman having seven sons)
402	~ setrḍng	Having seven colors
403	sḍtvā:nsa:	(a) A seven month's child (b) A feast given to a pregnant woman by her parents in the seventh month of her pregnancy

404	sār mǝgzi	To tease
405	sār mǝgzǝn	Trice one or oneself by much talking.
406	sǝnǝk	Madness, crazy
407	sǝnku	(a) to be turned (b) to be in search of
408	sǝt xǝsmi	A woman who has had seven husbands [means having relations with number of others man].
409	sā:nčǝq	A tradition when something is taken by bridegroom to the bride's house.
410	sā:nna:	(a) To knead or mix [as flour] (b) To implicate
411	sautpǝn	The state or position of rival wife
412	saundhna:	To mix or knead(all ingredient as in cooking
413	sikha:na: pǝrha:na:	To excite dissension by tale bearing
414	si:p	A shell, mother -of- pearl
415	suska:rna:	(a)To hiss or kind of sound used by woman (b) A child to pass the urine
416	suthra:i	(a)Neatness, (b) to make a clean sweep
417	soṭa: se ha:th	Bangleless hands
418	šǝgun	Sign of some future event
419	šǝgun ki: mǝhdi	Auspicious moment
420	šǝra:bor	Drenched
421	šǝfqǝt	Affection
422	ši:rda:r	Milch, giving much milk

423	širi:n zāba:n	Sweet spoken
424	Šurva:	Broth
425	Šorba:	Broth
426	Yāzāb jotna:	Awful
427	fābna:	To suit
428	qāba:hāt	objection
429	kālkāl (toṛa:)	Every joint or part of the body [to be disturbed]
430	kāl pa:na:	To obtain ease
431	kāl se beṭhna:	To sit restly
432	kāleja: ṭhāṇḍna: kārna:	To satisfy the heart longing
433	kāleja: jāli	A woman who has jealous in the heart
434	kāleje mē a:g lāgna:	(a)To feel a burning thirst, (b) to be envious
435	kāmini	Abusive language
436	kāpre lātte	Clothes, articles of apparel.
437	kāpre gu kārma:	Covered the clothes with grease and dirty
438	kāčra:na:	(a) to have a gummy running at the eyes (b) to be blear- eyed
439	kāra:ra:	Crispy
440	kārela: upār se ni:m čāṛha:	A person with ugly thoughts and behaviour
441	kāsa:o	Tightness and rancor
442	kāssa: mussi	(a)Tens

		(b)closely packed
443	kāsa:na:	(a)To have [anything] tested (b)to cause to tighten
444	kāseru	It's a type of fruit which is to be sweated
445	kālol ṭa:lna:	To move the misfortune
446	kāpra: lena:	To use cloth of a menstruating woman
447	kāpre a:na:	To have the menses.
448	kāprō se hona:	To be menstrual
449	kāčča: bāčča:	Premature and aborted fetus
450	kāčče pākke din/ kāčče din	Beginning or initial stage or days of pregnancy.
451	ka:ṭh ki bhāmbo	A silly and innocent woman
452	ka:firni	(a) An impious & mistress woman
453	ka:lik potna:	(a) Destroy [one's] good name (b) Injure (one's) reputation
454	kilbil	To make noise
455	kilkil	To make noise
456	kifa:yti	Parsimonious
457	kina:	Rancor
458	kirī:yā:	(a)Leeches (b)Blood sucking worm
459	kulrān	A woman who stitches laces
460	kulbula:na:	(a) to flutter (b) to loss about (in pain etc) (c) murmuring at the same time (d) to wriggle (as a worn)
461	kulča:	(a)Capital

		(b)principal stock in trade.
462	kūva : rčhəl	A virtuous woman
463	kusum ka: a:za:r	(a) disorder of the menses; (b) Excessive menstrual discharge.
464	kuṛhəṇ	(a)Pain (b) jealousy
465	kuṭni	A clever woman
466	kučh kəṛ dena:	To practice incantations
467	ku:ṛi	A place of rubbish or heap
468	kūṇḍi	A small tub or bucket pestle and motar(esp. for grinding)
469	koṛhpəṇ	Slovenliness
470	kaunra: ja:na:	To be flustered (by or in consequence)
471	khəsoṭna:	Pluck out
472	khəpri mūh mē ləga:na:	To blame to someone, to bring a false accusation (against)
473	khəṭṭa: čū:n	To be more soar
474	khəṛ khoj miṭa:na:	To wipe out (all trace of)
475	khəṛe. təṛe	(a) at one time –at another time; (b) Now sometimes ,now and then. (c) Occasionally
476	khij	Having irritation
477	khiča:o	Discord
478	khilkhila:na:	(a)o laugh heartily or aloud (b) to rattle together.
479	khil:l khi:l kərna:	To break down (a thing) into bit pieces
480	gəda:gəḍ	Sound of falling of the fruit on the earth.
481	gəṭṭi	A girl /woman who is small in height

482	gərela: se	To chapped vegetables etc in thick manner
483	gəla:ba:ndhna:	(a)To incur responsibility or liability (for), (b) to collect the money after the earnest effort,
484	gəlep	Quilt
485	gilauri	Betel- leaf prepared and folded [for eating]
486	gi:dhna:	(a)To be attracted(by) (b) To be or become greedy
487	guṭer guṭer dekhna:	Constantly stare.
488	guṭər guṭər sunna:	Constantly hearing without giving any response.
489	gul khila:na:	To be involved in wrong things
490	guba:r	Foulness, perplexity
491	gošt ka: pəha:r	A fat person
492	ghər jhəkni	A woman who goes about to and from the houses of her female neighbors
493	ghər ghər ke murde čəkhna:	A servant who changes service very quickly
494	ghərbəndi	A slave born in the house
495	ghər baiṭhe ber doṛa:na:	(a)To cause evil, (b)to create disturbance by sitting at own home.
496	ghər a:gəṇ hona:	(a) To lessen distance,

		(b) to bring things closer (c) frequent visits.
497	ghārva:	Dwelling, habitation
498	gha:na:	Quantity (to be grounded parched)
499	ghūṅgruda:r	Furnished with bells
500	ghuṭṇe se lāgkār baiṭhna:	Do not marry one's marriageable daughter
501	ghole mē ḍa:lṇa:	To practice delay
502	lāpka:	A bound forward (in order to snatch)
503	lāpāḱ lāgna:	Greediness
504	lābār lābār	(a) Gossip (b) Nonensical talk
505	lābṛa:	Greedy
506	lāpāḱ	Quickly
507	lāḱk	Flexibility
508	lāḱka:	(a) having flexibility or elasticity, (b) bent
509	lāḱk da:r	Delicate, soften, pleasant
510	lāḱḱhe da:r	Shred like, entangled
511	lāg lipāṭkār	(a) With united force (b) all together could be done by any means
512	lāḱḱ ḱāppo	Flattery, sycophancy
513	lāṇka: (lāgna:)	A heap or pile (of things) to be formed
514	lāude	(a) a lump (of butter etc) (b) a clod
515	lāha:o na: ma:rna:	Not stopping the talk
516	lāga:va:	(a) having illicit sexual relations

		(b) A paramour (c) A friend (of opposite sex)
517	lāgua:	(a) A paramour (b) A friend (of opposite sex)
518	lətu:riyō wa:li	A witch
519	la:jōn mārna:	Extreme shyness
520	lāude	(a) A lump (of butter etc) (b) A clod
521	lāuḍe ba:z	A woman who goes after young boys
522	lāuḍō gheri	A woman who goes after young boys
523	lāunḍha:i	A sodomite woman
524	lutri	A silly woman
525	lutra:	(a) A silly person (b) A slanderer; backbiter and mischief maker
526	loč	To impart viscosity (to), to bring out the viscosity (of dough) by beating (it) with the knuckles (after kneading)
527	loč da:r	Starchy, glutinous
528	lep čep kārna:	To put the blame upon (for someone else's fault)
529	mālyā: maiṭ kārna:	To destroy
530	mārdō mārdō mē hona:	To be dragged into a quarrel with men
531	mārori	Remains of flour left after making dough
532	māYruri	Pride, haughtiness

533	māśosa:	Pressed distressed
534	mālmāla:	Anything to be soft
535	mālya: maiṭ kārna:	To dirty the clothes
536	maiya:	A mother
537	māśosna:	(a) to squeeze, press [the vibrant heart etc] in order to stop its throbs of pain or anguish. (b) to suppress [an emotion etc] (c) to bear [a wrong] patiently Or silently (d) to regret.
538	māhi:ne se hona:	To be in a state of menstruation
539	mārda: mārḍi	By force, pertaining to men's
540	mārḍma:nās	Like men
541	mārḍva:	(a) A man (b) A husband (c) A brave man (generally used by way of contempt except of women)
542	māśatṭ mā:rna:	To remain silent and still to feign sleep.
543	mālmāla:na:	To put in great agitation
544	māḷola:	Vexation, regret
545	mā:gjəli	A widow
546	ma:tha: piṭi	(a) A forehead woman (b) Unfortunate woman
547	maika: bāsa:na:	To leave her father in – law's and take up her abode with her parents [a wife].
548	mail ka: bail ba:na:na:	To multiply words

549	mā : ndā : n	(To treat with honour (b)To give reverence
550	miṭna:	(a) To be passionately in love (with) (b) To be lost in admiration(of)
551	miṭṭi hona:	To be spoiled (b)become faint(or turn to) clay
552	mirčē si lāgna:	To feel as if chillies were applied
553	mi:ṭa:na:	To appease
554	mi:ṭha: māhi:na:	Eight month of pregnancy
555	muta:na:	To cause of pass urine of a child
556	muṭar muṭar[čālna:]	(a) it is used for child walk; (b) walking joyfully.
557	muḍar	Fence, boundry
558	murda:r	(a)Impure (b)Ugly obsence
559	musālla:	A cloth or velvet pieces used for prayers
560	muṣānda:	(a)A paramour (b)stalwart fellow (c)Strong -bodied person
561	mūh bha:ri hona:	Unlucky person after seeing of whom the day spend badly
562	mūh pa:na:	To find (one) favorable disposed, to get into the good grace (of) to presume on the favour (of)
563	mūh čarḥ ja:na:	Delayed period of [menses]
564	mūh jorṇa:	(a)To draw close together and whisper (b) To talk scandal in an undertone
565	mūh zor	Outspoken

566	mũh se phu:ṭna:	To speak by the mouth ,to break silence,to make bold to say,(used by the way of contempt)
567	mũh ka: phuhḁṛ	Disrespect in controlled of the tongue
568	mũh ma:ri	(a)Say biting or sting things (b)To stop the mouth (of a person) (c)To attack (one)with the mouth
569	mũh -a:- mũh	(a)To say biting or stinging things, (b)To attack(one) with the mouth © To stop the mouth (of a person)
570	mo ku aur na: to ku ṭhaur	Careless
571	mori ka: kiṛa:	A child who dies soon after birth (used by women]
572	moti pirona:	To string pearls
573	moti si a:bru	Dignity having lots of wrath in comparison of pearls
574	moṭi moṭi ga:liyā:	Foul or offensive language
575	mom ki mḁryḁm	A dedicate woman
576	mēhdi čhu:ṭna:	Not to loose anything
577	nḁrgis ke phu:l	Flowers of Narcissus
578	nḁkṭi	(a)Having small nose (b)A disgraced or dishonored woman
579	nḁkčḁṛhi	A woman who turn up the nose (through contempt or pride oneself (on))
580	nḁkku	To make (one) of scorn , to make oneself in famous.
581	nḁnhi ja:n	A small or young girl or woman

582	nāxra: piṭi	A woman showing coquettish behavior (used by the way of contempt); A bad tempered woman.
583	nājis pa:ni	impure by nature
584	nāzār jāla:na:	Toward off evil
585	na: hot	Have nothing
586	na:ṭha:	Having no one before and after
587	nazni:n	Delicate woman
588	na:kō čāne čābva:na:	To torment, worry
589	na:k čoti mē girifta:r	(a)To be in great difficulties (b)To carry on bad days
590	na:k mē ji hona:	To be greatly worried or harassed
591	na: mukār ja:na:	Not be bend adamant, one refuse to be persuaded all alone
592	na:k kātṇa:	To be disgraced
593	nibṭa:ra:	To complete, accomplish to do away with something
594	nisbāt	Engagement
595	niša:t kha:tir	Sprightliness, appearing
596	nihuṇa:	To incline or bend down, to render humble or submissive
597	nigāh-da:št kārna:	To watch (over)
598	nigāh lāra:na:	To cost love; glance (at)
599	nigora:	(a)[a word com. used by women] which means a helpless an unfortunate person; poor little helpless one (as a term of abuse] ; one who has no heirs

		or relatives and sometimes used for showing the helplessness of oneself. (b) A bachelor.
600	ni-ləjja:	A shameless or immodest woman
601	ni:ləṁ	A sappire
602	nain mutni	A soft hearted woman weeping much or constantly.
603	nauj	(prob. Corr. Of nauzu) intj: God forbid , by no means, on no. of account no never (an expressions peculiar to muham madan woman)
604	nesti ma:ra:	Unfortunate; idle woman
605	nekbəxt	A well -disposed or good woman or man
606	nekniyāt	Well - disposed well- intentional
607	voh ba:t voh ka:m	Having to do with sex
608	vəba:l səmeṭna:	Self- restraint, to be involved in calamity
609	va:r lena:	(a) to breath (b) to wait
610	va:r milna:	To have (one's) turn; to get an opportunity.
611	va:ri	Devoting oneself (for); waving anything round the head of a person (as a sign of being an offering or sacrifice for his or her welfare a phrase used by women).
612	voh	A wife refers to her husband (it is being considered disrespectful call

		one's husband by name)
613	həppa:	A mouthful, soft food [for children]
614	həṭ uṭha:na:	To bear with the whims(of an others)
615	həṭya:na:	Insistence; to obtain by fraud
616	həlkəṃ ḍa:l̥na:	(a)Creat an uproar or disturbance, harshness (b)To make hurry
617	həlla ḍulla:	Uproar, assault
618	həbuṛa:	Ill-shaped,clumsy; awkward man
619	həbuṛi	Ill-shaped,clumsy; awkward woman
620	həṭṭa: kəṭṭa:	Stout
621	hərra:fa:	A woman, who is to be wandered or ill-mannered
622	ha:th pa:ḍ se čhu:ṭna:	To have a safe delivery
623	ha:th dhula:i	It's a tradition; custom
624	ha:mila:	A pregnant woman
625	hae-re	Intj.
626	hiḍra:	Condition, state, circumstances
627	ha:th ləge maila: hona:	To become soiled by the touch of the hand, very clean and white
628	ha:la: ḍola:	Shaking,trembling,quacking,agitation
629	ha:li-məḍva:li	Friends,companion
630	hī:g ləge na: phiṭkəṛi aur rāṅg bhi čokha: ho ja:e	Effortless success
631	hurḍāṅgi	(a) a turbulent woman,

		(b) a gad- about (c) turbulence
632	hurḍānga:	Turbulent
633	hula:s	Snuff-box
634	hone ke din a:na:	Close to monthly cycle i.e. menstruation.
635	hot ke jot mē	(a) brightness; a glance of the eye (b) Glamour of money
636	hauka: lāgna:	Greediness
637	hauka:	To cause worry
638	ya:rba:š	A wandeed or ill mannered man.

Comments on the above list:

1. Between the conversation of males and females , we found distinction between males and females vocabulary.
2. Words like **maiya:, māsosa:, lānka:, mālma:la:na:, mūhzor, lārki a:i se:j pe lārka: gāya: gor** {means A girl is younger than her husband} . **a:i bāhu a:ya:, ka:m, gāi bāhu gāya: ka:m**{expression of distress or discontent}etc.were used by middle class but uneducated females.
3. **lāčāk, lāčākda:r, khiča:o, fābna:, jāhā: na: ja:e rāvi vāhā: ja:e kāvi, lās paida: kārna:** {to make more starchy} are the terms used by upper middle or upper class and educated females.
4. Abusive and euphemism mean a thing which is not openly said by females **bārā dida:** means {A wonton look, playful eyed}, **bijli bāsānt** {A clever women}, **bi:s ha:ndiō ka: māza: čākhna:** {lustful woman}, **guzār ja:na:** {passed away} **pā:pini:** {wicked woman} **a:s se hona:**{to be pregnant} **pet**

se {pregnant}, **dārd a:na:**, {labour pain} **māśosa:**{Pressed,distressed} **kāpṛō se hona:**, **kāpṛa: lena:** {To have menses} **kāčče pākke din** {initial stage or days of pregnancy} **māhi:ne se hona:** {To be in a state of menstruation} are typical terms used earlier and even now are available in the speech of aged women. They use these terms with women in polite sense also.

5. The younger generation is not aware of most of these terms, and if they know these subtle terms for example **dārd a:na:**, **māhi:ne se hona:**, **guzār ja:na:**, then they do not prefer to use them. They directly say, **voh pregnant he, usko lābour pain ho rāha: he, menses hona: etc.**
6. The younger generation does not hesitate using such terms before females or males and they openly say anything to any one. Elder women are more discreet and do not say each and everything in the presence of males, which confirms Lakoff's position.
7. **a:s se hona:**, **kāpṛe lena:**, **peṭ girna:**, **peṭ se hona:**, **hāmila: hona:** are typically women's terms and are used by elderly, middle aged and often by young girls also.
8. **guzār ja:na:**, **inteqa:l fārma: ja:na:**, **dārd a:na: ya: hona:** are used by males also .
9. Some idiomatic expressions like **āpni guṛiya: sevā:rna:** {To arrange for the marriage of one's daughter, which is related to dowry arrangement of the daughter}, **āpna: sa: mūh lena:**{To humiliate}, **a:i bāhu a:ya: ka:m gāi bāhu gāya: ka:m** are related to women's terminology but are also used by males.

Chapter - 6

Variation at Discourse and communicative strategy Level

Chapter - 6

The term discourse refers to the study of structure and meaning that goes beyond the level of the sentence. It involves looking at both language form and language function and includes the study of both spoken interaction and written texts. It identifies linguistic features that characterize different genres as well as social and cultural factors that aid in our interpretation and understanding different texts and types of talk. It can cover the use of language in the building of a relationship over a lifetime. It emphasizes the different aspects of language use. It views language as social interaction. It focuses the people's exposure to different types of discourse. It's process allows the distribution, types of questions people use and their effect on their responses. The discourse context, therefore expands indefinitely in time and social space.

Some linguist define a discourse just as sequence of sentences, which might or might not be produced by different speakers. Discourse analysis narrowly conceived adds to sentence level analysis such matters as the basic propositional meaning that is carried by the arrangement of sentences (e.g. their order, which can convey which event happened first) and by expressions like 'but' and 'so' that indicate connections among the propositions expressed by the individual sentences.

Some speakers may engage in overlap, while speaking to someone else while taking turn-at talk between friends conversation. For some linguistic groups, this discourse behavior can be interpreted as a signal of engagement and involvement; however other speakers may view it as an interruption and imposition on their speaking rights.

By exploring natural language use in authentic environments, learners gain a greater appreciation and understanding of the discourse patterns associated with a given genre or speech event as well as the sociolinguistic factors that contribute to linguistic variation across settings and contexts.

One discourse feature that is easy to study is listener's response behavior, also known as backchannels. Backchannels are the brief verbal responses that a listener uses while another individual is talking, such as mm-kmm, ok, yeah, and oh wow. Listeners response can also be non verbal head- nods. Variation has been found not only in the frequency of backchannels, but also in the type of backchannels, their placement in the ongoing talk and their interpretation by the participants.

In this chapter an attempt is made to take at length some important features of discourse which are mentioned in our data. At times the discourse features are strikingly different in male and female conversations in varying situations. We present the analysis

of discourse features in seven sections below. In section 1 we take up overlaps as a feature of discourse. In the section 2 we deal with the belittlement and topic control ,in section 3 condescension is taken up . Section 4 deals with topic choice, section 5 deals with back channel noises , in section 6, minimal response is discussed and section 7 contains interruptions.

Section 1

Overlaps

Overlaps are the instances of slight over anticipation by the next speaker. Instead of beginning to speak immediately following current speaker's turn, next speaker beings to speak and the very end of current speaker's turn, overlapping the last word or phrase does not break the symmetry of conversation, particularly where there is a factual description of an event for example:

1.1 Cooperative sentence building

(a) Zeba Michael jackson ke upār šo kārne ka: bəhaut
preššār tha:

Imra:n	{	<u>isi vājəh se</u> usko ziya:da: pain killār diye ja: rəhe
		the
		hā: <u>isi vājəh se</u> usko ziya:da: pain killār diye
		ja: rəhe <u>the aur kiya:</u>

Amir aur kiya:, voh əpne a:pse tēng a:gəya: tha:

(b) Waseem Jəb use čorna: hi tha: to itna: səb kučh kərne ki

Sheeba { kiya: Jəzurət thi:
hā: kiya: jəzurət thi: itna: səb kučh kərne ki: jəb
čorna: hi tha: to

1.2 Requesting and giving verification

(a) Asif tumhē lərka: kesa: ləga:

Shabana hā: ʈhi:k he

Asif kyō təbəssum ke hisa:b se lərka: ʈhi:k
nəhī: hē

Shabana nəhī: lərka: ʈhi:k he, aur kiya: ča:hi:e, kiya:
tumhē pəsənd nəhī:

Asif nəhī: mē pu:čh rəha: hū bəś aur kučh
nəhī.

1.3 Choral repetition

(a) Shabana məmmi čunmun bəhaut pəreša:n kərti

he, is liye dərva:za: bənd kərdijiye

mammi { hā: ye ʈhi:k he, dərva:za: bənd kərde,

nagina { hā: ye ʈhi:k he, menē dərva:za: bənd

- kər̥diya: he,
- (b) Shamim əre, usse kəho, voh əpna: ila:j kərva:e
- Shabana { ho səkta: he, əlla:h ki koi: bəhtri: ho
- { ismē
- Tariq { hā: ho səkta: he, ismē bhi əlla:h ki koi
- { bəhtri ho.

Conclusion

The data, which is collected reveals that both males and females overlapped each other's speech but males overlapped the speech of the opposite sex as well as of the same sex, and females overlapped speech more of the same sex rather than the opposite sex

Section 2

Belittlement and topic control

It is seen that often males belittle their mates by snubbing them when they are unable to prove their own point or cutting their conversation short. The sense of domination over females may be considered as the main reason for such behavior. For instance-

- (a) mammi əre a:sif tere pa:pa: keh rəhē hē ke ye

yāhī se kār legi pāra:i, ya:si:n čhor a:ya:
kārega: aur lea:ya: kārega:

Asif hā: pa:pa: kiya: he

Papa āre kitne māhine ki he aur iski: pāra:i

Asif do ti:n māhine ki ba:t he

mammi hā to ya:si:n čhor a:ya: kārega: aur le
a:ya: kārega:

Asif āre nāhī:’ māmmi, esa: nāhī he, ho ja:ega:
sāb .

Section 3

Condescention

Sometimes, males try to save their fellow/mate from making ridiculous and derisive comments on some other members of conversing group. For instances:-

- (a) Anees meri bivi kha:na: bāhaut āčča: bāna:ti:
he
- Asif kha:na: to hāma:ri bivi bhi bāhaut āčča:
bāna:ti he
- (b) Sumaiyya mujhe john ābra:hām bāhaut pāsānd he, aur
menē uski gārām māsa:la: muvi: ti:n ča:r
ba:r dekhi he, mujhe uski: āktīng usmē

	pəʂənd a:i
Zenab	mujhe usmẽ əkʂe kuma:r ki əktĩng ziya:da: pəʂənd a:i
Zaid	no doubt donõ ki əktĩng əčči he-

Conclusion

Males try to save their mate from the members of conversing group and from the members of family. Our data that is being analysed reveals that women are linguistically alienated.

Section 4

Topic choice

Generally the males and females raised those topics which they preferred but when they were confronted with certain situation then, they handled it with equal felicity. For example the issue of homosexuality which is equally supported by both sexes.

However following are the examples where males rejected the topics raised by female. And sometimes, it was seen that whatever the topic was, females came down to their favourite topics as watching movie, selection of the dress etc.

Rizwana	tum ne voh ləxs pərfəkt bira:ɪd dekha: he
Nabeel	hã: dekha: he, he kiya:, voh səb kiya:

dikha:ēnge usmē hē ese koi śa:di:yā: hoti
hē, hē kučh nāhī yeh sāb dhōṅg he, hā:
usmē lārkiyā: sābhi bāhaut āčchi dikha:i
hē

Rizwana nāhī mujhe to dohi lārkiyā: ziya:da:
pāsānd hē, virinda: aur gurpi:t

Nabeel nāhī ya:r lārkiyā: sābhi kāmā:l ki: hē,
ek se ek dikha:i he, ek se ek.

yaseen kiya: bha:i, hāṭa:o kiya: dekh rāhe ho,
bha:bi ke sa:mne māt dekha: kārō ye
sāb,

Nabeel āre ruk na: rukja: zāra:

Rizwana film dekhne čāloge, hē suno, kāl film
dekhne čālte hē

Nabeel hē dekhēnge, kāl dekhēnge, moka: mila: to
čāleṅge, do din ke liye to mē a:ta: hū usmē
gār wa:lō ko bhi ṭa:im dena: hota: he, aur
tumhē bhi,

Rizwana tum hār ba:r yehi kehkar nikāl ja:te ho,

Nabeel kiya: kārōgi film dekhkar, hē. āpne nāmā:z
pārō, film dekhna: bāhaut guna:h he sāmjhī:

yaseen āre bha:i kāl kār ja:oge mē esa: kārta:

hū, mē tumha:ra: moba:il ṭhi:k hone ḡa:l
deta: hū:

Nabeel ḡre rehne de mē kḡra:lunga:

Yaseen ḡre voh kəl tək de dega: meri usse ba:t ho
gai: he.

Nabeel ṭhi:k he ḡa:l de

Rizwan:na kəl tum ja:oge, bḡta: do kiya: bḡna:dū
hē

Nabeel dekh lo jo tumhē ṭhi:k lḡge bḡna: do

Rizwana phi:r bhi bḡta: diye, kučh esa: bḡna: dū jo
a:p a:sa:ni se leja: sḡkē,

Nabeel mē kučh bhi leke kha:luṅga:, lekin ḡḡḡr tum
bḡna: do to ṭhi:k he.

Rizwana: ḡčcha: menē kḡpre pires kḡr diye hē aur
beg mē bhi rḡkh diye hē kučh aur tonḡhī
he, hā: jḡna:ma:z bhi rḡkh di he

Nabeel ,ṭhi:k he ṭhi:k he, aur kučh nḡhī he hā:
ḡḡḡr kha:na: bḡn ḡḡya: ho to, kha:na:
lḡga: do.

Rizwana: nḡhī: ḡbhi: roṭi ba:ki hē

Nabeel ṭhi:k he, mē nḡma:z pḡṛ a:ū to kha:na:

lāga: dena:

Conclusion

Generally both have same topic of discourse but, males try to impose their own talk over females, this is because of the dominant nature of the male and women by nature are submissive. It is often observed that if males impose their own talk then women ultimately retreat to their own topics like cooking etc. and males continue to talk on various topics of their interest.

Section 5

Back channel Noises

Females generally use more back channel noises like hmm, mm yeah, oh than males in mixed sex conversation. Some of the instances of mixed sex conversation are as follows:

(a) Suhail ānjum a:pa: a:p esa: kiji:e a:p āpni maim se
puči:e

Anjum h mm – ye t̪hi:k rāhega:

(b) Asif esa: he tum mujhe āpni maim ke pa:s le
čālna: mē ba:t kārunga:

(c) Anjum laib tumne bānd ki he pekār

Pakar hmm,- nāhi menē bānd nāhī ki he, mē

	kyũ bānd kārne lāgi
(d) Imran	yeah, kiya: ba:t he, hā: bolo bolo mē kār rāha: hũ ba:t, bolo
Arshi	tum kisse ba:t kār rāhe ho
(f) Imra:n	āre kisise nāhī, tum bātao tum kiya: pu:č rāhī: thi:
Arshi	mmm__ kuch nāhī---
Imran	ūh

Conclusion:

It is observed from the data that females use more back channel noises rather than males. It is said this is because of the less talk of the women in mixed sex conversation. But on the opposite side, it shows cooperative nature of the women and gives support to fill the conversation. On the other side the word yeah that is used by males tells that such words are used by the males while talking to women, to show their impression of them.

Section 6

Minimal responses

Males and females, both used minimal responses .It is verified by the data. Given below is illustrative of the points:

Amir	esa: he mu:d vu:d kučh nāhī hota: čālna: he to bās čālna: he
------	---

Arshi	Ūhũ
Amir	əre tumhẽ to buxa:r ho rəha: he
Farheen	hã: əb xiya:l a:ya: he
Amir	hã:
Farheen	ʈhi:k he ʈhi:k, koi ba:t nəhĩ
Amir	to, aur, kiya: kəhũ
Tabassum	a:mir ya:r čəlega:, ʈelər ke yəhã: ja:na: he
Amir	Ū--- kiya:
Tabassum	ʈelər ke yəhã: čəlega:
Amir	hã: - dekhũnga:
Farheen	ma:mu: suno, sun rəhẽ hẽ
Ma:mu:	hã: sun rəha: hũ, kəl ba:t kəreŋge kəl muhje ni:nd a:ra:hi he-

Conclusion:-

Both use minimal responses but female use it to show their interest and cooperation and male use it to show their lack of interest.

Section 7

Interruptions

Interruption means violation of turn taking rules of conversation and it's occurs when the next speaker begins to talk

while the current speaker is still speaking. It breaks the symmetry of the conversation and prevents the speakers from finishing their turn at the same time gaining a turn for themselves. The intervention of the second person is at a point of current speaker's turn which could not be defined (as the last word). It is possible when the discussion is going on a topic or topics, it usually breaks the symmetry of the conversation, therefore, the so called the last word of the current speakers may or may not give a chance for the next speakers to compliment or elaborate the conversation. It's particular potential manifestation of power in conversational interaction.

Male-female

- (a) Tariq Shā:mi:m sāmārsevil wa:la: a:ya: tha:
kiya:
- Shamim nāhī vo nāhī a:ya:
- Tariq to ṭānki mē pa:ni he kiya: nāhī he
- Shamim tābāssum to māna: kār rāhi thi: ke
sāmārcevil nāhī čāl rāha: he, pa:ni to nāhī
tha:, āb pāta: nāhī, he ke nāhī he
- Aamir āre ye log bhi bās esi hī hē.

Female male-

(a) Tabassum esa: he a:sif bha:i ise ba:hər ghu:mne
ka: bəhaut šauk he a:p ise ek ba:r
ghumā: la:iye.....

Asif ye ro ja:egi, ba:hər ja:egi to.....

Tabassum nəhī roegi a:p ek ba:r le to ja:iye -

Farheen ya: a:p leja:na: hi nəhī ča:hte

Female-female

(a) Maim əre ənjum dekho hum tumha:ra: hi: ka:m
kər rəhe hē na:, tum həmə ʔa:im do tho:ra:
sa:

Anjum maim mujhe bəhaut muškil se ʔa:im mila:
he səsura:l se islie həm jəldi kər rəhē hē,
aur həma:re upər bəčči ki bhi zimmeda:ri
he

Maim hā: dekho ənjum voh to ʔhi:k he lekin həm
kər rəhe hē nā: bəs həmə ʔa:im do tho:ra:
sa:

Paker maim həm a:ja:ē

Maim	nəhī pekər, a:j nəhī, kəl a:i:ega: a:j hēm inka: ka:m dekh rəhe hē -
Paker	Ok, maim.
(b) Baby	suno, šəmi:m kəl tum vəlīmē mē kiya: pəhən rəhi ho
Shamim	əbhi menē kuč ɖisa:ɪd nəhī kiya: he
Tabassum	əre bha:bhi pərsō uske yəhā: bhi to ja:na: he
Shamim	kəhā:,
Tabassum	šarik ke yəhā:, uske bha:i ki bhi to ša:di he, vəhā: kiya: pehnogi,
Shamim	hā: mē voh to bhu:l hi gai, mere to zəhən se nikəl hi gəya: tha:
Baby	əre phir kəhā:, phir to tum sari, lēhga:, vēhga:, pehnogi, həm to bhaiya:, si:dha: si:dha: su:t pehnēnge.

Conclusion

Females interrupted the speech of same sex as well as of the opposite sex but this is rare in comparison with male's speech. Females seem to be cooperative in conversation and showed their active involvement in it .

Chapter - 7

Summary and conclusion

Chapter – 7

A sociolinguistics analysis of women's Urdu speech in Aligarh has been carried out in this thesis. A vast amount of data was collected during the field work in Aligarh. The analysis particularly is limited to the women's specific terminology of the sociolect. This study is the sociolinguistic analysis of women's terminology in six different chapters. Each chapters has it own sub-sections .A summary of our conclusions is given here in the end .

The present study is conducted with a view to examining the female speech of the Urdu speaking community of Aligarh. According to a general belief females speech is considered to be different from males speech but it is not because of their sex but because of their inferior position in the society and also due to double standards of the society for measuring their behaviour.

Holmes (1990) has rightly pointed out that the use of hedges in the repertoire of females is a reflection of their inferior position in the society .Notions like conservatism and innovation emerge from double standard attitudes towards women .On the one hand, females are said to be conservative and on the other blamed for not bringing innovation in language .The question that why women use more standard forms than men may be relevant in some social groups but it is certainly not true for all situations. For instance, in case of friendly interaction or particularly in a mother-child interaction, they tend to be very relaxed and informal. In informal contexts the vernacular forms occur in everyone's speech. Standard forms are typically associated with more formal and less-personal interaction. It may be said that by using a sophisticated version or standard forms a women protects her face, in a way she also avoids offence to others.The women's copious use of standard

forms may not only be suitable to their face protection needs but also to those of the people whom they are talking to. It also brings out women's sensitivity to their addressers.

Women's behaviour regarding their day to day talk is generally assumed as aberrant. The assumption about women's speech (language) is irrational and unfair for it fails to do full justice to the nuances of words and expressions used by women. It is surprising that women's standard forms are considered objectionable whereas men are found more wanting in making use of sophisticated language during the course of conversation.

The first chapter in my thesis deals with the theoretical background of "sociolinguistics and throws a good deal of light on the scope of its study". It embodies some theoretical observations about "male and female speech", with reference to the method of data analysis. There are some observations about men and women's use of Urdu words and expressions in their different social situations. Women talk more than men, says Cameron, not because they are women, but because there is a tendency for gaining higher status to talk more.

In fact, latest research reveals that language skills of men and women are identical. The theory that women talk more has been debunked by science. It was discovered by a recent study in the American journal of science that upholds that men and women speak almost exactly the same number of words a day: 16,000. Most research studies and books ask the question whether there is a difference between men and women. The director Meghna Gulzar says, "The difference is just in the mind, I think humans have a male/ female brain. If a man's sensitive, his female

side of brain is more alert, and if a women is aggressive, her male brain is more alert. Men in my films have been very utopian, because I show them to be compassionate, honest and emotional”.

Therefore it may be said that the war between sexes is sometimes nothing but power play. Women are still the second sex; they’ are too caring. There will always be a gender politics in the relationships.

Chapter second covers “phonological variation ” . It has been observed in the phonological variation that the variant forms used by females are less as compared to males. The number of variant forms in the speech of the male is quite high. Even the frequency of switching of these variant forms depending upon the context is slightly reduced among the females. It is remarked about the use of polite expressions that they are present in the repertoire of both males and females . It is females who are expected to observe them more as compared to the males. This presence of polite and impolite expressions in the repertoire of both males and females and the frequent use of variant forms by both sexes may be because of the age factor. They both had a similar opportunity of education and share the experiences arising from the outside of their homes.

The third chapter entitled “Morphological variations” contains various reduplicated forms. It has been divided into three forms i.e. total, partial, and echo forms.

Chapter four deals with “syntactic variation”. Males use some explicit commands in order to express their dominance; females use more modalized interrogatives. But in some cases it is gathered from the data that some females also use explicit commands as are used by males. Sometimes females refused to accept the male dominance and superiority complex. From the male

interruptions overlaps and topic control, sentence incompleteness results. Males interrupt the speech so that the females should leave their talk incomplete.

Even it is noticed that both the males and females used back channel noises and minimal responses as shown in the data . Females used back channel noises like *hmm*, *mm* to show cooperation. They use more adjectives than males.

Minimal responses such as *hu*, *ha*, are used by females in greater frequency but males use this response “*hu*” after a lengthy remark of a woman. It is neither to encourage her nor to elaborate. Such minimal interactions operate to discourage interactions.

The five chapter deals with “lexical differences”. It deals with a large corpus of women’s vocabulary. This chapter is limited to the exhaustively collected data that has been used in the illustrative examples for the validation of the analysis. There are some specific terms of utensils, jewellery, colour terms and items of clothing that are not used by them now. Some colour terms are not common in either of sexes. *uda:* , *na:rangi*, *meṭmela:* , *pya:zi* are confined to women. Words like *həra:* , *la:l* , *gula:bi*, *pi:la:* , *ni:la:* are common in use of both sexes. This chapter deals with some specific expressions / phrases that are exclusively used by women like *ummi:d se hona:(be conceived)*, *hī:ng ləge na: phitkəri aur rēng bhi čokha: ho ja:e(trying to get good results without efforts)*. However some phrases like that are used by males also , for instance, *meri billi mujhe hi mia:ũ ()*, *jesi ma:i vesi ja:i (like daughter like mother)* . Some other expressions and phrases are also common between male and female. These are collected through the field survey.

Males and females are said to include different lexical items in their total repertoire depending on the range and kinds of fields in which they are involved. For example there are certain colour terms which are common to both males and females such as la:l , həra: , ni:la: , pila:, bhura:, gula:bi etc. But there are some colour terms such as ra:ni , u:da: , pya:zi , mēhdi , rupehla: ,ka:sni etc which are exclusively used by females. This may be due to the females sensitive nature to observe things more minutely than males.

Our data is based on adult , adolescent , females and males day to day language. It contains food items , terms of clothes, euphemistic terms, terms of curses and contempt, terms of swearing, some terms for ornamentation and idiomatic expressions that are specific to females.

My six chapter is "the variation at discourse and communicative strategy levels". It is believed that females are more status conscious than males because of their lifestyle that confers very little status on them. Hence they are expected to talk less or rather keep silent .But today they hold certain responsible chairs and give a talk on matters of contemporary interest and even they set tones in course of discussion. They create and maintain relationship of closeness and equality. They recognize the speech rights of others and allow them to speak. They use minimal responses and use back-channel noises for having co-operative attitude and active involvement.

Females as compared to males become less aggressive when they cannot prove their point while males always want to dominate

others through their speech . They are less cooperative in conversation and sometimes even they reject the topic when they are not comfortable with that. This false perception gives rise to feelings of superiority and dominance over females.

Interruptions and overlaps are the two irregularities in the turn taking of conversation and may be seen in the males more as compared to females. However, with regard to the same sex group conversations both interruptions and overlaps may be seen, but the degree of irregularities is different.

By the analysis of the collected data it is revealed that males interrupt conversation with a view to indulging their passion for superiority.

Earlier in adolescent females and males the interference of English language was not so much as it is in adult case. May be the adults are more exposed to knowing English for it is considered as a status symbol.

In these days of computer age language as a whole is undergoing variety of striking differences both in formal and non-formal styles. The youth of today have a predilection for SMS and are given to lavish use of slangs and shorter forms of expression. They very much like to write 'thnx u in place of 'thank you'. To them language has become 'lingo' whereas great is preferred to 'gr8'. Expression (such as) like 'sexy' and 'hot' that are used at comfort levels are gaining wide currency all around . Yet all such linguistic changes in day to day use are not very comforting to the older generation.

Women's social life is exhibiting a variety of changes in a rapidly changing world and also opening up newer possibilities for their education and employment . They have acquired higher status and rejected old and rigid norms of society . Having abandoned regimented lifestyle, females have begun to work with men in various walks of life. It shows that today the role of men and women in our society is collaborative and complementary . It is observed that the speech of both the sexes has been influenced by each other's speech. It is also found out that the males who were earlier given to using dominating language have begun to condescending to employ the language which was once known as women's language .

It is a hard fact that male and female speak differently. The present study explains that men and women make differences not only in lexicon but also in communicative strategies. When there is conversation between men and women, men usually tend to interrupt and very often monopolize the conversation whereas women encourage transaction of a good talk through the use of facilitative tags and variety of other suitable means as well. In addition to difference between male and female conversation the thesis also examines language varieties used by women in Urdu speech community. Female's use of Urdu language in day to day life is treated here in great detail with a view to catching the very nuances of their expressions . Various queer and quaint words of Urdu employed by women have been analysed to indicate that they are strikingly different from those used by males. The thesis studies differences in Urdu speech in relation to gender with a primary focus on women's particular use of Urdu in their daily round of talk .

Varied shades of meaning in the everyday women's parlance are clearly perceptible. Many of their words and expressions do not belong to the text book and are not in frequent use. It is concluded that the work is likely to introduce the Urdu speech community to a different genre of language and may enrich the Urdu speakers repertoire of words and expressions.

Appendices

Appendix - A
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Appendix B
Women's general
and Specific
vocabulary

Introductory Remarks

This appendix includes women's general and specific vocabulary. Words presented in this appendix were collected during my field work in Aligarh. They form the basis of sociolinguistic analysis of women's speech. Every lexical item in this glossary is presented in three columns. The first column lists the serial number of the entries, the second column contains the word itself in the phonemic transcription, while the third and the last column gives the meaning of each word in English. The symbols used for phonemic transcription are:

Vowels (20)

ə a: i i: u u: e ai o au

ã ã: ĩ ĩ: ũ ũ: ě ãi õ ãu

Consonants (37)

p ph b bh m

t th d dh n

ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh

č čh j jh s

k kh g gh q

f v s z š ž h x ɣ

l r ɾ rh y

1.	əpne əlla:h se pa:e	It's a curse, which means you get punishment for that by the God
2.	əpne xuda: se pa:e	It's a curse, which means you get punishment for that by the God
3.	əpna: sa: mũh lena:	To humiliate oneself
4.	əpni guṛiya: sā:va:r dena:	To arrange for the marriage of one's daughter, it is related to the dowry arrangement of the daughter.
5.	ət̪l̪əʃ	Quality of cloth
6.	əṭhvā:nsa:	A eight month child
7.	əč̌cha: bəč̌ča:	A child in sound health and healthy
8.	əč̌chi	O! dear friends(used for female friends) women used it affectionally for addressing their intimate friendships
9.	əč̌chu l̪əgna:	Continuous hiccups
10.	əč̌hvā:ni	A coudle or gruel given to puerperal (a child birth women)
11.	ərd̪əli ut̪rva:na:	(a)A crowd of lewd/ indecent fellows to fall(on- commonly applied to rush made upon a harlot by number of loosemen) (b)To keep illicit sexual relations with many person.
12.	əṛi p̪əṛ.k̪əṛ kha:na:	To be comfortable

13.	əṛəṅg bəṛəṅg	(a)To be spread (b)Scattered
14.	əṛna:	Adament
15.	əṛḥa:i čullu ləhu pi:na:	It is used with much anger (curse)
16.	əsbə:b	Reasons
17.	əkəṛ	Stiffness
18.	əkəl ki dušməṇ	Fool
19.	əggul	Finger's breath
20.	əggušṭ	Finger's breath
21.	əgguri	Light green Colour
22.	əlla:h rəkkhe	May the evil eye be far removed
23.	əlla:h əlla:h	(inter:) to nourish or cherish the child with prayer and fasting with great care.
24.	əlla:h alla:h kərna:	To call upon God
25.	əlla:h bhuli: ba:t	A very wrong and sinful act
26.	əlla:h miā: ki ga:e	(a)An artless or simple person (b)A foolish person
27.	əmək dhəmək	Highly decorative
28.	əmi - jəmi rəhna:	Bright, splendid
29.	əmiyā:	A small unripe mango
30.	əməu:r	Mango parings dried in the sun
31.	əṅkhṛi pəṅkhṛi	Petals
32.	əṅgəṛ khəṅgəṛ	Useless things
33.	əṅgiya:	(a)Body-limb

		(b)Brassaiar
34.	ǣnga:re	Lustful woman
35.	ǣngu:ṭhi:	Ring
36.	a:ṭe ka: čira:δ	Something important but difficults to keep or maintain
37.	a:ṭe ki: a:pa:	Fool or innocent womenor girl used as a affection
38.	a:ṭh a:ṭha:ra:h kārna:	To destroy
39.	a:ṭa: gila: kārna:	To moisten and leaven flour
40.	a:ṭh aṭh ā:sū rona:	To remember someone desperately
41.	ǣ:čəl	The hem of a clock is used to cover the bosom
42.	a:čəl lena:	(a)To touch the border or hem of a guest's garment as a sign of welcome. (b)To wipe the hands with the sheet of the bride or bridegroom's mother
43.	ǣ:čəl mē bā:dhna:	(a) To tie a knot in the mantle or sheet (b) way of reminder) (b) To bear in mind ; keep in memory
44.	a:rsi	a small mirror worn in place of a stone in a tumb as a ring by Indian women.
45.	a:rsi to dekho	To taunt someone, not good looking [you please see the

		mirror]
46.	a:s se hona:	To be pregnant
47.	a:sma:ni	Sky blue Colour
48.	ã:khẽ pəṭəm hona:	It is used as a curse which means to become blind ,to burst and run out, to lose an eye.
49.	ã:khõ mẽ xa:k	(a) to prove a very unpleasant sight (b) to be viewed with envy and dislike (c) to impose upon.
50.	ã:kho mūndi:	A innocent girl(also used in the sense of foolish woman)
51.	ã:kh sěkna:	To be watching with lust
52.	ã:khõ ã:khõ mẽ	Love at first sight
53.	a:gpa:ni	Epilepsy
54.	a:ga: ta:ga: lena:	(a)To look after (b)Attend to
55.	a:ge a:na:	Not to observed veil
56.	a:g pəṛna:	(a)To be envy (b)Enraged(at) (c)To feel grief,hungry etc (d)To be sexual
57.	ã:mrəs	Mango-milk shake
58.	ã:nkh ka: nəša:	quality of cloth
59.	a:h	A sound which sprout by getting injury
60.	a:h na: a:i	Not to feel regret sorrow or sigh (for or because of)

61.	aiyã :m	Days of or near to menstruation
62.	aiya:r	cunning
63.	aiya:š	Lustful
64.	aiya:ši	Lustfulness
65.	a:i bəhu a:ya: ka:m gai: bəhu gəya: ka:m	Expression of discontent and distress
66.	a:i: ki: bhu:l ja:na:	Senses to be losts
67.	ã:i	Interj. showing surprise
68.	utrən putrən	(a) Anything taken off from the body (b) Worn-out or cast off clothes
69.	uṭhe hue kəngən	a sort of bracelet
70.	Učha:l čhəkka:	A loose charactered woman
71.	Udheṛna:	To unfurl
72.	udma:ti	(a) Frantic (b) Lustful (c) Morbidly desires
73.	udhəl hona:	(a) To be full of lust (b) Long for carnal
74.	urən joga:	To get ruined
75.	Uṛna:	To run away
76.	Uṛ ja:na:	To escaped with
77.	ujṛa: puṛa:	Ruined
78.	uləmba:	(a) Hard-swelling (b) Swollen gland; tumor

79.	Uljheṛa: ba:kheṛa:	Complex affairs
80.	ulfṭt	(a)To cultivate friendship(with) (b)To be intimate(with)
81.	unna:bi	Maroon
82.	Ūn	He(for husband)
83.	Ui: ,	(a)Emphatic , that very expressing pleasure, (b)Pain,fear, surprise (used by women)
84.	U:pṭrtṭle	One after the other
85.	u:da:	Dark blue colour
86.	U:h	An exclamation of pain, distress
87.	ū:ni	Woolen
88.	ima:n se	Swearing
89.	is ko či:l kṁvvō ko dhū	Killing mercilessly [curse]
90.	ičṭk da:na:	Quality of cloth
91.	iza:rbṁnd	A belt for trouser
92.	iski:bi	Half sweater
93.	ismṭt	Chastity
94.	iza:r mē ḡalkṭr pehṁnna:	Feel no care or concern(for) indifferent(to used by women to humiliate)
95.	irva:h	(a)Spirits (b)Souls
96.	isko čhupa:ū usko nika:lū:	Resembling situations
97.	Oja:la:	Washer man(with bad tast)
98.	Oja:li:	Washer woman(with bad tast)
99.	osṭr ke dosṭr hona:	(a)To have to pay instead of

		receiving (b)To be drawn into difficulty (c)To be or become a loser (by)
100.	Okna:	To vomit
101.	Oh	Exclamation of surprise, pain distress
102.	Oho	Pleasure(interj)
103.	auffo	Showing resentment(interj.)
104.	ausa:n gāi	To lose one's
105.	aur na: čhor	Useless funny talk
106.	aula: hona:	(a)To be angry (b)To be over taken by misfortune
107.	auliya ālla:h	(a)Friends(of God) (b)Holy-person
108.	erān	It's a type of ornament
109.	elo	Interj.
110.	ehā:	Interj.
111.	ehe	Interj.
112.	bābāryā: čorṇa:	Letting the hair loose
113.	bātlāčče	To talk much
114.	bāttule ba:na:na:	(a) Talking (one) into over reaching, (b) To boast.
115.	bāttule dena:	To be duped
116.	bāttule mē a:na:	To get trapped
117.	bātorāṇ	Sweepings
118.	bāṭṭa: sa: mūh	A large and round face

119.	bədzɑ:t	Bad disposition
120.	bədzəbɑ:n	Foul mouthed
121.	bəd ʃəgun	Ill omend, unluckily
122.	bəd qoma:	Be a evil minded
123.	bədha:i dena:	To inform or invite congratulations(hope of issue "in the language of women")
124.	bəd bəla:	Evil spirit
125.	bərosi	An earthen bowl or oven for fire at which the milk was boiling
126.	bərmā:	A boasting woman
127.	bəṛhti:	(a) Augmentation (b) enhancement.
128.	bəṛbəṛ	Useless talk
129.	bəṛbola:	To boast
130.	bəṛ muhi:	A large faced woman
131.	bəṛa čilla	(a) The period of forty days after child birth during which a women remains unclean (b) The ceremony of purification. (c) mistress
132.	bəṛa: di:da:	(a) A wanton look (b) Impudent
133.	bəza:ru	Of low moral
134.	bəkəṛ bəkəṛ kərna:	(a) To speak sharply (b) excessive talking
135.	bəkəbək	Useless talk
136.	bəkha:nna:	(a)To expound

		(b) To name with opprobrium
137.	bəgəd ki roṭi	A kind of bread
138.	bəl bəl ja:na:	(a)To be sacrificed (b)devoted oneself for
139.	bəlaiyā: lena:	To draw the hand over the head of once and then cracks the finger in taken of taking all his/ her misfortunate upon oneself (it's a practice among women)
140.	bənət	Having or adorned with gold or silver ending, lance, bond or ribbon on a mantle
141.	bənita:	(a) Women (b) Wife (c) Mistress
142.	bənao dena:	(a)To suit (b) A good understanding to exist (between or with)
143.	bəndhej	Persistence, Prohibition
144.	bənna:	Bridegroom
145.	bənni	Bride
146.	bənno	Bride
147.	ba:t uṭha:na:	(a) to tolerate, to bear in silence (b) to gulp down one's words.
148.	ba:t pəlle bā:ndhna:	(a) to tie a knot in the mantle or sheet [by way of reminder] (b) keep in memory

149.	ba:t čhu: na: ja:na:	Different from other family members
150.	ba:diya:	It's a type of bowl
151.	ba:dəl rūnd rūnd kər a:na:	Making someone sad
152.	ba:zubənd	(a)ornament worn on the arm; (b)armlet, (c) bracelet
153.	ba:s	Offensive smell
154.	ba:sna:	(a)Desire (b)Inclination
155.	ba:si tibi:si kha:na:	Stale food
156.	ba:si: ghər ā:gəṇ	It means not to get [a dwelling place] swept
157.	bǎ:kṛi	A special kind of gold/silver lace
158.	ba:la:	A kind of ear-ring
159.	ba:li	A kind of small ear-ring (passing through the centre of the ear)
160.	ba:li pətte	It's a type of ear-ring
161.	ba:l bəra:bər	Little bit
162.	ba:l bika: na: hona:	Nothing wrong
163.	ba:l bičurna:	To search for lice
164.	ba:l ba:l bəčna:	Barely to succeed or to win
165.	bā:nk	A kind of bangle
166.	biṭṭəṇ	Little daughter (it's spoken in affection)
167.	biṭha:e rəkhna:	To keep detain [a marriageable or married

		daughter] at home.
168.	bijli bijliyā:	A kind of ear-ring (consisting a hook with a pendent in the shape of kernel of a mango)
169.	bijli: bāsānt	A cleaver woman
170.	bičhauna:	A baby's bedsheet be laid out on the bed.
171.	bičhu:a:	A ring worn on the (little or great) toe
172.	biṛa:	It 's a sign of bethrothal
173.	bisbhāri	(a) Heart- tormenting (b) Acrimonious
174.	biḷāsna:	(a)To be pleased (b)To enjoy oneself
175.	biḷākna:	To sob or cry violently
176.	bilauz	The dress of women worn along a long piece of cloth which women wrapped round the body (sa:ri)
177.	bindi	Ornament for the forehead
178.	bindi:ya:	Ornament for the forehead.
179.	bi:bi:	Lady (used in addressing female)
180.	bi:s ha:ndiō ka: māza: čākhna:	Lustful woman
181.	bura: či:ta:	Ill wisher
182.	bura: pair	Unfortunate
183.	bura: hiḍra:	To a miserable plight

184.	bura: a:za:r	A disease (T.B.)
185.	burqe mē čhi:čre ləga:na:	To play foul
186.	buṛhi jərvə:	An old lady
187.	buṛha:pa: aigəṭhna:	To taunt someone of old age
188.	buṛhi khusəṭ	Very old(A decrepit old woman)
189.	bula:q	The septum of the nose
190.	bunda: bəṛḥa:na:	To take of amulets etc [worn in consequence of a vow] when the vow is fulfilled.
191.	bua:	(a) A maid servant (b) Father's sister
192.	buha:ri	Sweeper (woman)
193.	brokiṭ kəpṛa:	Type of cloth
194.	boba:	Belly (stomach used by the way of contempt)
195.	boliyā: suna:na;	(a)Make fun(of) (b)To taunt(curse)
196.	baodəṇḍi	To wonder without purpose
197.	beṭhe biṭha:e	All of sudden
198.	berī	Ring worn round the ankle
199.	besəṛ	Ring worn (by women) in the nose (on the left nostrill
200.	be a:ra:mi	Restlessness
201.	be sət	Tasteless
202.	be sudh	Senseless
203.	behuda:	Ill mannered
204.	beza:r	Annoyed

205.	be əsba:b	Without goods or effects having no effects
206.	be ba:q	Paid up in full
207.	be paŋsər	Having no sense
208.	bhədər bhədər bha:gna:	(a)The way of running (b)The sluggish and fatty woman
209.	bhədər bhədər čəlna:	The sluggish and fatty woman
210.	bhərua:	(a) one who lives on the earrings of a prostitute, (b) A man who pass his time by idle talking (c) A pimp.
211.	bhəra:s	Release pentup feelings
212.	bhərkda:r	Refulgent
213.	bha:r mē ja:na:	To get destroyed
214.	bhəsər	A crowded place
215.	bhəga:na:	To brown onions and spices in heated oil as s relish or seasoning for meat
216.	bhəgo:ra:	(a)Runaway (b) fugitive
217.	bhəl bhəl uja:la:	Broad daylight
218.	bhəla: ma:nəs	Courteous
219.	bhəla: čəṅga:	(a) in sound health

		(b) in good order or condition
220.	bha:ṛ	Wages of prostitution
221.	bha:ṛe ka: tṭu	The slave of necessity or habit.
222.	bha:sna:	Be known
223.	bokhla:na:	To loss presence of mind
224.	bhogna:	To take or receive pleasure or pain with indifference.
225.	bholva:	An earthen vessel to drink out of
226.	bhidna:	(a) To penetrate (b) To sever (the smell mixed up of something's into some others thing)
227.	bhigona:	To wet, to soak
228.	bhu:ra:	Brown (Colour)
229.	bhulāsna:	((a) to be burnt, (b) scorch [suffering anguishness and to bear more oppression]
230.	bhunna:	(a)Scorched, burnt up, enraged.(b) To parch , fried, grill
231.	bhaūdu	Stupid fellow, foolish person.
232.	bhai	Used as emphatic particle
233.	pṭta:	An ornament worn in the upper part of the ear [A leaf]
234.	pṭti:la:	A copper pot or pan (with a wide mouth a cauldron)

235.	pəti:li	A small pot or pan
236.	pətoɾe	Type of food dish
237.	pəṭ pəṭ bolna:	To speak clearly (of the babies and sometime it is also used by the way of contempt for the girls when they talk more among the elders)
238.	pəṭəɾ pəṭəɾ bolna:	To speak clearly (of the babies and sometime it is also used by the way of contempt for the girls when they talk more among the elders)
239.	pəṭṭiyā:	To paste the hair down [hair hanging down upon the temple or over the ear]
240.	pəṭṭiyā:	An armlet
241.	pəčləɾa:	A necklace (of five strings)
242.	pəčləɾi	A necklace (of five strings)
243.	pəč phula: or phuli ra:ni	Slim, fragile, elegant, and it is used for those women who think or imagine themselves very beautiful and delicate [by the way of contempt]
244.	pəribənd	A kind of ornament worn in hand
245.	pəričhəm	A type of ornament
246.	pərolna:	Stirring
247.	pəsənde	A kind of chopped meat dish

		which is prepared with other condiments as *ənjri:r, curd, onion, nutmeg, dhāniya, cumin seed, red chilli powder etc.
248.	pāsa:na:	To pour off (superfluous) water, in which any edible (as rice) has been boiled (in)
249.	pālethān	Dry flour
250.	pāllu	Edge / hem of a garment
251.	pāllu:da:r	A garment edge which can be easily used for covering the body.
252.	pān-kāpra:	A soft wet cloth for betel-leaf so they do not get dry.
253.	pānpāti roṭi	A bread which is made of by water slap
254.	pānjiri	A medicine/type of dish composed of five ingredients (śugār, oil, flour, cumin seed etc) given to puerperal women.
255.	pāhōči	An ornament worn on the wrist
256.	pa:zeb	An anklet of gold/silver (a child feet foremost)
257.	pa:s a:na: aur pa:s ja:na:	To meet (used for husband and wife's intimate relation)
258.	pa:lāk ka: sa:g	A sort of spinach

259.	pã:ni na: mǎ:ge	(a) Too ill or (b) In great trouble
260.	pã:ni va:r kər pi:na:	To show extreme affection
261.	pǎ:o pi:t pi:t kər mārna:	(a) The heels to rub [against the bad in dying and (b) To be in straitened circumstances during the dying period.
262.	pǎ:o mē mēhdi ləgna:	Not able to walk.
263.	pa:yəl	An anklet
264.	pičhli ṭikiya:	A small cake of flour/dough which is remain after baking the bread.
265.	pistai	Light green (colour)
266.	pinḍa:	Lump of food
267.	pinḍi	(a) A round dough (b) A delicious sweet made of dry fruits and cereals and severed by a bridegroom previous to the wedding.
268.	pinpi:na:na:	Irritating sound, whizzing
269.	piya:zi	Very light pink
270.	pi:ḥh	The water which is remain after boiling the rice
271.	pi:kda:n	(a) A vessel for holding the spit

		(b) A spittoon specially used for the betel-leaf chewed.
272.	pu:re din hona: ya: pu:re dinō se hona:	Tfo approach the full period of pregnancy
273.	pot ka: kəp̄ra:	Quality of cloth (which is called banarasi kəp̄ra:.)
274.	peṭ se	A pregnant woman
275.	peza:r	(a)A slipper (b) Shoe fighting or mutual beating with slipper.
276.	peməḱ	Gold/silver lace or brocade (used for the border of a dress)
277.	peṣwa:z	A full dress gown (reaching a little below the knee specially worn by a dancing girl or bride girl.
278.	phəṭkəṇ	Particles which remain after sifting or straining (flour etc.)
279.	phəphəḱna:	Babbling
280.	phəl-phəla:na:	To drop and taken out the cloths into the water perfectly so that the soap could not be remain
281.	phu:ṭ phu:ṭ kər nikle	To die painfully (curse)
282.	phu:kni	A wind instrument use to flame
283.	phu:l	An ornament
284.	pheṭna:	To beat up into froth(as egg)

285.	təba:k	A large flat plate as (thaal) dish
286.	təba:ɾək ki roʈi	An ugly woman
287.	təte pəɾna:	(a) to be disgraced. (b) disreputed
288.	təteɾa:	A vessel for warming water
289.	tətta: ta:o	Instantly
290.	tətri:	Unfortunate woman.
291.	tətu thəmbu	To interpose support a patching up [as of quarrel etc]
292.	tərbu:zi	Watermelon (colour)
293.	təɾka:ri	Vegetable
294.	təɾ təɾ ka:ri:	Fresh green and moist [esculent fit to be used as food] vegetables
295.	təɾtəɾya:	Cunning woman
296.	təɾša: hua:	Well shaped
297.	təɾšəɳ	Remaining of cloth or etc. after cutting and stitching.
298.	təɾa:šna:	(a) to cut out, (b) carve shape, form
299.	təɾma:l	Luxurious
300.	təɾka: dena:	To brown onions in heated oil as a relish or seasoning in food
301.	təɾa:k se bolna:	To speak in quick succession
302.	təɾkəɳ təɾka:	(a) to make fight (b) Angriiness (c) separation
303.	təsəvvur	Imagination

304.	təsbi:h hona:	To make repeated request [for]
305.	təšla:	(a)A brass dish/vessel used to knead dough in (b)to wash the clothes in it.
306.	təla: upār	One after the other
307.	təla: dena:	(a)To paste bottom of an utensil with clay; (b)thorough cleaning or sweeping out, (c)a slap of earthen
308.	təlčhət	Sediment
309.	təlčhū na:čhu kārna:	To be restless
310.	təlkh miza:j	Ill-tempered (for)
311.	təlna:	To be fried(in butter or oil)
312.	təlaiya:	A small tank or pond
313.	təmgā: biṭha:na:	(a) to establish (one's) rule or authority etc. (b) to impress
314.	təng pōja:mi	It is dress (čurida:r pōja:mi)- like as to be crumpled into plaits - worn by women
315.	təna:vār	Thick
316.	təni	The string or fastening of a garment
317.	təni peṭ ka: māza:	Seeking pleasure
318.	təni:s	The feminine gender
319.	təha:təhi	One upon or over another fold

		within fold; plait by plait
320.	tã:ta lãgna:	To come in great number
321.	ta:k lena:	To get informed
322.	ta:gna:	(a) Thread (b) To thread (a needle and only used for blanket quilt and hard clothes'
323.	tã:nsna:	To threaten
324.	ta:o bigãrna:	(a)The lost of the meal or sweat -meal to be bad or changed (b)Be enraged
325.	ti:s ma:r	A brave man
326.	ti:ha:	Wrath, vehemence of manner
327.	tumha:ri qãsãm	Swearing
328.	tui:	Ornamental lace, ending
329.	totiya:	Parrot green (Colour)
330.	totye joyna:	False accusation
331.	tore wa:li	Respectfully, of prestige but women used it by the way of contempt.
332.	tere sãr ki qãsãm	
333.	teri: ja:n ki qãsãm	
334.	thãka: bail	An old man
335.	thãkel ma:ri	A bad characterized woman
336.	thãnda: rãkhna:	To satisfy or please (someone)
337.	tha:l	A large flat plate or dish of metal
338.	tha:li	A small flat plate
339.	`thutka:riyã:	Fetters(captivity restraint)
340.	thu:k uãha:lina:	(a) to say evil things,

		(b) to spit (upon in contempt)
341.	thu:thən	The mouth or snout used by the way of contempt and its is also used as [thu:thni]
342.	thobrə:	Face but used in a way of contempt.
343.	ʔəpka: ʔəpki ləgna:	Continuous dropping, dripping
344.	ʔəpke ka: dər	To be over taken by a calamity from heaven
345.	ʔəʔiyā:	It is placed in a door ways and kept constantly wet with the view of cooling the air of house
346.	ʔəsue bəha:na:	False or hypocritical tears
347.	ʔəka:	one coin
348.	ʔəka: sa: jəwa:b	A quick refusal, ready for answer instantly
349.	ʔa:pna:	To move out
350.	ʔa:le ba:le(bəta:na:)	To practice delay, constantly post pending something.
351.	ʔiki:ya:	It's is a source of women make up was used for lips in place of lipstick
352.	ʔima:k	Make up
353.	ʔima:g	Make up
354.	ʔuʔən	Pieces of a broken glass or earthen object
355.	ʔu:mna:	To insert something as cloth

356.	ṭum ṣhālla: pa:s na: hona:	Very poor.
357.	ṭū:gna:	Pecking and nibbling
358.	ṭoṭke kārna:	(a) to perform a superstitious remedy, (b) to practice incantations
359.	ṭok	The influence of an evil eye
360.	ṭokəṃ ṭok	Correct weighing
361.	ṭokəṃ ṭoka:	Prevention
362.	ṭesu ke phu:l	The blossom of the Butea
363.	ṭhəṭṭha: ma:rna:	(a)To raise a laugh (b) To make a laughing stock (of)
364.	ṭhəṇḍa:. kārna:	To break (one's) bangles (as a woman does on the death of her husband. The verbe "thandi karna" being used superstitiously for [tor.na:] and it's a mark of widowing.
365.	ṭha:ṭ	Luxurious
366.	ṭhi:rəṇ	Extreme cold
367.	ṭhuḍḍi mẽ ha:th dena:	To Flatter
368.	ṭhes ma:ri ja:na:	Striking the foot (against on obstacle)
369.	jəb sāiyā:ji hue kotwa:l to ḍər ka:heka:	No need to get worried when you have power
370.	Jəṛəo	Set or studded with jewels

		jeweled
371.	jəlbila:na:	The act [way of burnt up, irritable and angry the heart on which having no control].
372.	jəlkukri	A jealous woman
373.	jəletən	The heart to burn
374.	jəle pər non čirəkna or ləga:na:	(a) to sprinkle salt on, to exult over one in trouble or distress. (b) to insult.
375.	jəma: juttha:	Assets, collections and balances
376.	jəna:za: nikle	To be dead
377.	jəhā: na: ja:e rəvi: vəhā: ja:e kəvi:	<u>jəhā: surəj ki kirən bhi nəhī pəhāuči vəhā: ša:yər ka: xya:l pəhāuč ja:ta: he</u>
378.	ja:mni:	Dark purple(colour)
379.	Jibha:	Spirit, courage
380.	ji: bura: kərna:	(a) to displease (b) to grieves to take offence
381.	ji: bikhərna:	To feel nausea
382.	ji: təle upər hona:	Vomiting
383.	ji dħəna:	(a) The heart to sink, (b) to faint
384.	jore t̃ā:kna:	To stich clothes of bride to be in a highly decorative way.
385.	Jogiya:	Dark yellow (colour)
386.	jaũ taũ kərke	By some mean or other, by any means, as it could be done.
387.	jhəppa:n	To take a nap of a patient

		because of the debility of disease . (b)To laying, by closing the eyes.
388.	jhāḁk-a: -jhāḁk	Bright, shining
389.	jhāḁk ma:rna:	(a)To talk in coherently (b) To pull a long bow
390.	jha:ṛ pončh kārna:	Sweepings
391.	Jha:ṛ jhu:rna:	Dusting
392.	jhuṭail ḁurāt	A cast off woman
393.	jhuṭail	Left over food
394.	jhuṭa:l dena:	(a)Oscillation / the motions of a swing (b) to cause to taste.
395.	jhulāniyaṛ	It's a type of hanging earring which was hanging on the shoulder.
396.	Jhumka:	The bell-shaped pendant (of an earring)
397.	Jhumki	(dim. of jhumka:) a kind of earring with a pendent.
398.	jhumār	An ornament consisting of a number of chains forming a fringe which is attached to the top-knot (of a women's head) and falls on the forehead
399.	jhōkna:	(a) To bear down upon (b) Leaning over
400.	Čāpni	A flat lid/cover

401.	Čəṭka:na:	To get rid of (vegetables etc) To stir continuously
402.	čəṭək mətək	Having a fine perception gaudiness
403.	čəṭto biga:re əpna: ghər aur bətto biga:re du:sre ka: ghər	A gourment harms herself whereas a talkative harms others
404.	čərbā :nk	(a)Smart in (conversation) (b)Impudent
405.	čək čək londe kha:na:	Eat fabously or luxuriously
406.	čəmpəṭ	To run/ move away
407.	čəməkkə	A passionate or quarrelsome woman, a want on woman
408.	čəmpa:	A type of gold/ silver lace
409.	čəmpa:kəli	A necklace composed of the little ornaments in the form of the bud of the (čəmpa) flower.
410.	čəmkī	Glitter
411.	Čəndəṇ ha:r	It's a type of necklace
412.	Ča:r ba:Y zərda:	It's a type of rice which is cooked with four different colors.
413.	Ča:nd ba:li	It's a type of earring
414.	Ča:nd ta:ra:	A semilunar gold ornament (Worn under two other on head)
415.	Ča:ē čaē kərna:	(a)To talk idly (b)gabble
416.	Ča:ē bolna:	To get defeated

417.	čipəkna:	In women's language it is used for having relations.
418.	čit	Lying flat [on the back]
419.	čita:na:	(a) to touch the heart, to affect (b) to approve itself (to) (c) to cause to deserver
420.	čitkəbra:	Spotted (colour)
421.	čira:hənd	The smell of burning flesh, leather, bones etc
422.	Čiq	Type of ornament
423.	čikən kəri	It's a type of food dish
424.	čik	(a) curtain made of split, bamboo (b) pain in lower back
425.	čikkəṭna:	Covered with grease and, dirt and illclad
426.	čikni: čupri: ba:tə bəna:na:	To use oily speech; to speak plausibly
427.	čiləməči	A wash hand basin of metal
428.	Či:mṭa:	Forceps
429.	Či:ni ke bərtən	Porcelain, glazed, fine earthen ware
430.	Čla:mni	An earthen vessel
431.	Čuṭla:	A cue or lock of hair worn behind
432.	Čuṭi:la:	A cue or lock of hair worn

		behind
433.	čulha: jhokna:	To feed a fire, To head an oven
434.	Čunni Čuna:ri	A sheet worn by women
435.	ču:lhe ki teri t̥əve ki meri	Wishing good for self and bad for others
436.	ču:lhe mē ja:e	(a) to be cast or to go into the fire, (b) to get ruined
437.	ču:lhe mē jhokna:	To cast into the fire which means to get ruined
438.	Čain	A gold/Silver ornament which is worn in the neck.
439.	Čaus̥ri	An ornament worn (by women) tight round the neck and hooked behind.
440.	čauka:	A square piece of ground being first plastered in with cowdung.
441.	čauka: b̥ərt̥ən k̥ərna:	To plaster and prepare a space for cooking and scrub the pots and pans.
442.	čāunčli ha:i	(a) eudearing arts and expression, (b) toyishness, pleasantly
443.	Čaula:i ka: sa:g	A species of pot-herb
444.	čh̥əttisi	A prude, an artful woman
445.	čh̥əlla:	A plain ring (of gold silver or

		other metal worn on a finger of foot)
446.	čhəlla: dhokəɾ utha:na:	To observe or fulfill a vow
447.	chəlni	Ring worn (by women) in the nose (on the left nostril)
448.	čhəlni mə ɖa:lkəɾ čha:j mə uɾa:na:	To get a bad name by multiplying words
449.	čhənməɳ	The hissing sound produced by a drop of oil or water falling on a hot plate
450.	čha:ti: gəɖra:na:	The breast to swell (in a young woman)
451.	Čha:ti pəɾ mū:ng dəlna:	To annoy someone
452.	Čha:gəl	Ornament (It's a type of anklet which was studded with (ghungru) diminutive bells, attached to anklet.
453.	Čhipki	It's a type of ornament which is used in place of bičhua
454.	čhipkəli: si:	Weak and fragile woman
455.	čhičhu:	Filth , it is used for child's.
456.	čhidde mudde	Used as term of love and affection when talking with children.
457.	čhi:jna:	Boasting
458.	čhi:čhi	Filth , it is used for child's potty.

459.	čhi:na:r	It's a foul language
460.	čhočhək	A ceremony observed after child birth as gifts are given from maternal grandparents
461.	čhokəŋ	Seasoning spices with which food is seasonal
462.	Čhokna:	To pour something into the oil that is being heat into the pot
463.	Čhena:	A sweet meat made of curd
464.	həŋta: kəŋta:	Stout
465.	hərbe - zərbe	(a)Frequently , occasionally (b)now & then ©Sometime or other time
466.	həra:ra: dena:	To defraud
467.	həlqa:	An ornamental round shape bangle, ring etc.
468.	həla:l xorəŋ	A female sweeper
469.	həla:l zəda:h	It's a contempt for someone who is illegitimate child
470.	həlka:m ɖalna:	(a)To make panic struck (b)To be thrown into confusion
471.	həva:s ba:xta:	To recover or come to one's senses
472.	həva:s pəkəŋna:	To recover or come to one's
473.	həva:s kho	Senses to be lost
474.	xəsəŋ	Used for husband (mostly in

		anger]
475.	xəšəm piṭi	[used as a male- diction] may your husband die.
476.	xəmiri roṭi	A sort of leavened bread
477.	xa:k pəre	To be ruined
478.	xa:lse ləgna:	To be soiled, ruined
479.	xa:la: ki xəl bəčči	Someone showing, imposing oneself as very close one
480.	xa:n-po š	covering cloth of a tray
481.	xuda: ki qəšəm	By God
482.	xuda: ki ma:r pəre	Punished
483.	xuda: xuda: kərke	After a long waiting, delayed
484.	xuda: ləgti	To speak the truth, say what is right
485.	xuda: i xwa:r	Despised by the world
486.	xuda:- e- xauf	Fear of God
487.	xurčən	Dregs
488.	xuški	Dry flour put under and over dough
489.	xu:ma:ri čərna:	(a)The effect of drinking (b) or drowsiness or of love
490.	xila:i kərna:	The occasion of marriage which means a person who being married, to gain wait.
491.	xela:	A careless woman
492.	xela: pa:ěča:	Playfull, untidy(dirty-slovenly)

		woman
493.	dərdəra:	Bruised
494.	dərd a:na:	(a) to be affected with compassion (b) labor pain
495.	dərdē	Labor pain
496.	dərdśā:	The loss of respect
497.	dəṛānge (ləga:na:)	Leaping&jumping
498.	dəstbānd	(a)A string of pearls or previous stones worn (by women on the wrist) (b)A gold/silver ornament worn on back of the hand
499.	dəha:na:	To set fire on a hearth
500.	dā:tō ěṛna:	To provoke the envy, for hatred (of)
501.	dā:to ki missi:	It's a type of tooth powder
502.	da:tō tele zebān	Helpless not able to say anything
503.	da:ṽ hokār nikle	It is a curse which means suffer from leprosy
504.	da:ṽ lāgna:	To be damaged or to get a bad name
505.	da:ṽ kārna:	To heat/warm the oil & butter for making the pulse testing; to mark pulse by heated oil and butter .

506.	da:mān bāndi	To marry a girl to an old man.
507.	da:i	A woman comes at the birth of child (for delivery)
508.	dida: čārbā:nk	Saucy-eyed/ fearless
509.	didō dhoi	(a) bold, impudent (b) Saucy-eyed
510.	dil ki piya:z	It is a quality of cloth
511.	dil joi kārna:	To study the inclination or wish (of) to try to please
512.	din a:na:	Menstruation days.
513.	diwa:r -o- dār	House and Surrounding
514.	dur	(a) A kind of ear-ring (b) pearl
515.	dukhra: rona:	To bewail (one's)
516.	dukhya:	Afflicted one suffer.
517.	dulākna:	To regard with an evil eye
518.	du:dh ka: dhula: nēhī	Not very pious
519.	du:diya:	Milky (colour)
520.	du:sraū ke utrān	Clothes takes from the others
521.	do ji: se hona:	To be pregnant
522.	do - jiya:	A pregnant woman
523.	desu:thān	It is an idiom which is used by Hindu woman for the bathing after the ten days of delivery [of a child]
a	degči: čaṇa:	It's a superstition among

		Indian women that licking the post brings about the ill- luck of a fall of rain on the Wedding procession of the person given to this habit, hence on such occurrence they abuse the bridegroom for having licked the pot and yet this is misconception about own if ti happens on such ocasssion.
	degči: khəṇəṇkna:	It means resound preparation for a feast to be going on
524.	dhəṛ	Lower part of a body
525.	dhəṇəṇk	Multi coloured
526.	dha:ra:	Miserable plight
527.	dha:ni:	Light green (colour
528.	dhoti ṣəḷwa:r	A cloth round the waist passing between the legs like trousers (reaching to the feet]
529.	dhāuta:l	A fat,lazy woman
530.	qəṛa:vni	Awesome
531.	qəṛkausna:	(a)To embezzle (b)To eat more fast or greedily
532.	qəḷiya:	Caster, moulder
533.	qəṇḍkəṛa	(a)A kind of ornament like a bangle (b)bracelet,anything resembling a bracelet in form.

534.	ḍa:kna:	(a) to vomit (b) to callout roar
535.	ḍī:mra:	Innersore, tumour
536.	ḍoli:	A kind of sedan [for women]
537.	ḍola: uḥa:l̥na:	A woman to be disgrace with other man because of the presence of her husband.
538.	ḍoi	A large spoon (wooden)
539.	ḍhə̌kni	A flat lid/cover
540.	ḍhopra:	To callout roar an old broken or dilapidated house or wall
541.	ḍhol ta:še bə̌ja:na:	To be exaggerate
542.	ḍhō̃ng	Cheating trickery
543.	ḍhē̌da:	A large belly in women's language it is used for illegitimacy (pregnancy]
544.	rə̌ti:	Luck
545.	rə̌t jə̌ga:	A vigil
546.	rə̌sa:wəl	Rice which is cooked in juice of sugarcane
547.	rə̌ka:bi	A broad flat dish , plate , bowl
548.	rə̌hna:	To have Illicit relations
549.	ra:ni	Dark pink (colour)
550.	ra:r mə̌ča:na:	(a) to create a disturbance (b) To complain with affection
551.	ra:ni ha:r	Necklace
552.	ra:i ka: pə̌ha:r̥	To exaggerate
553.	ra:i ka:i kə̌rna:	Reduced to small pieces or atoms

554.	rupehla:	Multi colour
555.	ruma:li ɛ̌pa:ti	It's a type of bread
556.	roa:s	Inclination to cry or weep
557.	roṭiyā: lāgna:	(a)violating faith (b)Matter of dispute
558.	roṽāni roṭi	Bread mixed with or dipped into boiled butter
559.	rolān	Anything picked out(anything from the rubbish mixed with it by shaking or tossing it)
560.	raumṭa:	Hair of the body
561.	reḥ pi:ṭna:	(a)To follow the track (of) (b)To follow old customs
562.	reṣām pāṭṭi	Type of ornament worn on anklet
563.	revṛi: ke pher mē a:na:	(a)To fall into the complications
564.	zāba:n kātṇa:	A curse
565.	zābā:n dāra:z	Foul mouthed
566.	zārṛa: zāhu:r	A little
567.	za:fra:ni	Saffron (colour)
568.	za:mī:n ka: pevānd hona:	To die
569.	zere ja:ma:	Undergarments
570.	səṭ ləṛa:	a chain or necklace of seven strings
571.	səṭ ləṛi	a chain or necklace of seven strings
572.	sātvā:nsa:	(a) A seven month's child (b) A feast given to a pregnant woman by her parents in the seventh month of her

		pregnancy
573.	ṣəṭṭallo	A silly proting woman, a slovenly woman
574.	səṛso	Yellow mustard (colour)
575.	səra:səri	An ornament worn on the head (going all round it)
576.	səṛpoš	A flat lid/cover
577.	səṛ dikha:na:	To get one to hunt for lice
578.	səṛ məgzī	To tease
579.	səṛ məgzān	Trice one or oneself by much talking.
580.	səndu:qča:	Casket used for Jewellery, rupees
581.	səndu:qč i	Casket used for Jewellery, rupees
582.	Sānḍa:si	Forceps
583.	sānḍək	Madness, crazy
584.	sānku	(a) to be turned (b) to be in search of
585.	Sāhnḍək	(a) small plate; (b)An earthen pot
586.	sā;p sū:ng ja:na:	To be stunned
587.	sa:t na:j ki roṭi	A type of bread which is made up of the mixture of the flour of [wheat , barley, gram, millet, maize etc,
588.	sa:t dha:r hokəṛ nikle	Used for severe suffering vexation and distress.

589.	sa:guda:na:	It's a slight food for the patient which is prepared with milk, sugar, sagu: pudding , it is also coocked with water.
590.	sã:nčəq	A tradition when something is taken by bridegroom to the bride's house.
591.	sã:nna:	(a) To knead or mix [as flour] (b) To implicate
592.	sir ba:ndhna:	To tie up the hair, to plait or braid the hair
593.	sir dikha:na:	To get one to hunt for lice
594.	sir ka:rḥna:	To comb.
595.	sikha:na: pəṛha:na:	To excite dissension by tale bearing
596.	siləpči	A wash hand basin of metal (with or without a cover)
597.	sileṭi	Grey (colour)
598.	sīnga:r pəṭṭi	Many types of ornaments and make ups.
599.	sīnga:r	To dress up
600.	sīngha:ra:	A kind of ornament
601.	sīnga:r da:n	Dressing case
602.	si:p	A shell, mother -of- pearl
603.	si:pi ke bərtəṇ	Utensil (like shell material)
604.	si:sphu:l	An ornament for the head (worn by women)
605.	si:na:bənd	A stomacher or it's a type of

		chest band mostly used by women for children.
606.	si:ni	Tray, dish(a small flate plate)
607.	suthra:i	(a)Neatness, (b) to make a clean sweep
608.	surāt pe jhaṛ phire	To crush down (a curse)
609.	surāt kha:h mẽ mile	(a curse) means to die
610.	sunehra:	Golden (colour)
611.)	suska:rna:	(a)To hiss or kind of sound used by woman (b) A child to pass the urine
612.	suha:g piṭa:ra:	A basket contacting] cosmetics, paints , perfumes a comb, bangles and other ornaments etc presented by a bridegroom to his bride.
613.	suha:gči	A perfume rubbed on a bride's clothes and bed.
614.	su:raiya:	It is a type of quality of the cloth
615.	so ba;t ki ek ba;t əndha: kiya: ča:he, do ā:nkhě	Alooser needs compensation for his loss
616.	soṭa: se ha:th	Bangleless hands
617.	sola:h singa:r kārna:	To dress up herself in a good manner
618.	sautpān	The state or position of rival wife
619.	sāudhna:	(a)To mix or knead(all

		ingredient as in cooking (b) To mash, to press together
620.	sēṭa:	An ornament worn in nose
621.	šṭara:ra:	It is a type of women dress
622.	šṭagun	Sign of some future event
623.	šṭara:bor	Drenched
624.	šṭfṣṭ	Affection
625.	šṭkora:	A covering plate of pitcher or a plate which was used for serving food
626.	ši:rda:r	Milch, giving much milk
627.	širi:n zṭba:n	Sweet spoken
628.	Šurva:	Broth
629.	šuma:li roṭi	It's a type of bread
630.	Ši:rda:r	Milch, giving much milk
631.	ši:rma:l	Bread with milk
632.	Šorba:	Broth
633.	Šeta:n ba:ja:	An ornament worn in ankle which is stuned with thick ghungru
634.	ṽṭara:ra:	It is a type of women dress
635.	ṽṭazṭb jotna:	Awful
636.	fṭbna:	To suit
637.	fṭrši pṭja:ma:	It is a type of dress
638.	fṭrši ṽṭara:re	It is type of women's dress which was earlier used.
639.	fa:xtai	Dark brown (Colour)

640.	fa:lsai	Dark purple (colour)
641.	fi:rozi	Dark sky blue (colour)
642.	qəba:hət	objection
643.	qəbuli	A kind of dish made up of rice and gram pulse (which is called khičri)
644.	qəla:qənd	A kind of sweetmeat
645.	qəsma: qəsmi	(a) To take oath and also it is used as make terms or conditions [with] (b) Swearing on both sides.
646.	qəsm utha:na:	
647.	qəsmse	Swearing
648.	qorma: pula:o	A very rich dish(pula:o) in which rice is cooked with broth (qorma:)
649.	kəpre lətte	Clothes, articles of apparel.
650.	kəpre gu kərma:	Covered the clothes with grease and dirty
651.	kəpra: lena:	To use cloth of a menstruating woman
652.	kəpre a:na:	To have the menses.
653.	kəpə se hona:	To be menstrual
654.	kəčra:na:	(a) to have a gummy running at the eyes (b) to be blear- eyed
655.	kəčča: bəčča:	Premature and aborted fetus
656.	kəčče pəkke din/ kəčče	Beginning or initial stage or

	din	days of pregnancy.
657.	kəra:ra:	Crispy
658.	kərča: kərčhul kərčhəli kərči	(a)A ladle spoon; (b)An iron skimmer
659.	kərən phu:l	An ornament for the ear consisting of a hollow cone of gold to the base of which pearls are attached and which is fixed as a pendant to the ear-ring.
660.	kərela: upər se ni:m čərha:	A person with ugly thoughts and behaviour
661.	kəra:	A thick bangle (on the wrists)
662.	kərj. kə:e	To use harsh or severe language (to)
663.	kəsa:o	Tightness and rancor
664.	kəssa: mussi	(a)Tens (b)closely packed
665.	kəsa:na:	(a)To have [anything] tested (b)to cause to tighten
666.	kəseru	It's a type of fruit which is to be sweated
667.	kəfgi:r	A skimmer spoon ladle (generally perforated like a colander)
668.	kəfən ko ləge	To dead
669.	kəgnī ča:wəl	It's a type of dish which is

		cooked with a lump of raw sugar.
670.	kəla:i	the forearm, wrist
671.	kəl pa:na:	To obtain ease
672.	kəl se beṭhna:	To sit restly
673.	kəla: bəttu	Silk thread covered with gold/silver twisted together or fringe.
674.	kəleja: ṭhəndəna: kərna:	To satisfy the heart longing
675.	kəleja: jəli	A woman who has jealous in the heart
676.	kəleje mē a:g ləgna:	(a)To feel a burning thirst, (b) to be envious
677.	kəlsa:	It's a vessel for using the water
678.	kəlkal (toṛa:)	Every joint or part of the body [to be disturbed]
679.	kəl muhi	An evil woman
680.	kəlol ṭa:lina:	To move the misfortune
681.	kəmini	Abusive language
682.	kəmbəxt ma:ri	Unlucky used as contempt
683.	kəngəṇ	A gold or silver ornament for the wrist (worn by women)
684.	kəngna:	a) A bracelet b) Thread/string tied round the right wrist of a bridegroom and the left of a bride at the marriage ceremony.

685.	ka:ṭh ki bhāmbo	A silly and innocent woman
686.	ka:firni	(a) An impious & mistress woman
687.	ka:lik potna:	(a) Destroy [one's] good name (b) Injure (one's) reputation
688.	ka:sni	Light purple (colour)
689.	kirān	Tassel (of gold or silver)
690.	kirān phu:l	An Ornament For the ear-consisting of a hollow cone of gold to the base of which pearls are attached and which is fixed as a pendant to the earring
691.	kiṛiyā:	(a)Leeches (b) Bloodsucking worm
692.	kifa:yti	Parsimonious
693.	kilbil	To make noise
694.	kilkil	To make noise
695.	kina:	Rancor
696.	kuṭni	A cleaver woman
697.	kulrān	A woman who stitches laces
698.	kulbula:na:	(a) to flutter (b) to loss about (in pain etc) (c) murmuring at the same time) (d) to wriggle (as a worn)
699.	kulča:	(a)Capital (b)principal stock in trade.
700.	kūva:rčhəl	A virtuous woman

701.	kusum ka: a:za:r	(a) disorder of the menses; (b) Excessive menstrual discharge.
702.	kuṛhṭhṇ	(a)Pain (b) jealousy
703.	kučh kār dena:	To practice Incantations
704.	kulča:	(a)A small dise-shaped loaf, a cake of bread [made of flour milk and butter]
705.	kulhṭṛ	An earthen vessel to drink out of.
706.	kūṇḍi	A small tub or bucket pestle and motar (esp. for grinding)
707.	kunḍḍḍi	To form a round earring
708.	ku:ṛi	A place of rubbish or heap
709.	kočna:	To push ,thrust (stuff)
710.	koṛhpṭhṇ	Slovenliness
711.	kosa:ka:i	(curse, male – diction
712.	kosna:	To curse
713.	kofča:	A ladle spoon which is to be full of holes.
714.	kokh-jṭḍi	A barren woman
715.	kokhē lāg ja:na:	The cavity of the abdomen (to sink in) the belly to skin in.
716.	kevka:	(b) A kind of sweetmeat.
717.	kaunra: ja:na:	To be flustered (by or in consequence)
718.	khṭpri mūh mē lāga:na:	To blame to someone, to bring a false accusation (against)

719.	khəṭṭa: čũ:n	To be more soar
720.	khəju:r gošt	It's a type of meet dish in which the flour daugh were dipped into meat
721.	khəṛ khoj miṭa:na:	To wipe out (all trace of)
722.	khəṛa: dupəṭṭa;	It is a type of mantle.
723.	khəṛue	A wrist ornament
724.	khəṛe. təṛe	(a) at one time -at another time; (b) Now sometimes ,now and then. (c) Occasionally
725.	khəsoṭna:	Pluck out
726.	kha:ṭiya: kha:na:	God grant, he may die (a common form of cursing)
727.	kha:li čəna: ba:je ghəna:	To exaggerate something
728.	kha:ṛi. khoṭi suna:na:	To speak ill
729.	khi:r	A dish made of rice and milk
730.	khiṭ	Having irritation
731.	khiča:o	Discard
732.	khilkhila:na:	(a)o laugh heartily or aloud (b) to rattle together.
733.	khil:l khi:l kəṛma:	To break down (a thing) into bit pieces
734.	khøjṛe piṭi	(a) Having no trace (b) Vicious, unlucky
735.	gəṭṭi	A girl /woman who are small in hide

736.	gəṭṭe	A sweetmeat which is made up of a lump of raw sugar in the form of small round pieces.
737.	gəḍa:gəḍ	Sound of falling of the fruit on the earth.
738.	gəḍi	It's a type of rounded small vessel using for water etc.
739.	gəṛela: se	To chapped vegetables etc in thick manner
740.	gəḷa:ba:ndhna:	(a)To incur responsibility or liability (for), (b) to collect the money after the earnest effort,
741.	gəḷep	Quilt
742.	gəṅga: jəṃni	Mixed (as oil and butter made of mixture of (gold and silver or brass and copper) on earring made of such mixed metal.
743.	gireh mẽ ba:ndhna:	To tie a knot (in a handkerchief etc a reminder); to bear in mind.
744.	gilauri	Batel- leaf prepared and folded [for eating]
745.	gi:dhna:	(a)To be attracted(by)(b) To be or become greedy
746.	guba:r	Foulness, perplexity
747.	guṭər guṭər dekhna:	Constantly stare.
748.	guṭər guṭər sunna:	Constantly hearing without

		giving any response.
749.	gulsār	Type of ornaments
750.	gulṣān pāṭṭi	A kind of jewelry
751.	gulqānd	A sweetened variety of medicine made of rose petals and sugar
752.	gul khila:na:	To be involved in wrong things
753.	gulgule	A sweetcake fried in butter (wheat, flour sugar and curd with a {anise} and cardamom seeds made into balls shape of dumplings and fried in oil
754.	gulubānd	A collar, the neck
755.	goṭ	The hem/border of a garment
756.	gota:	Gold/Silver ending
757.	goṭa kina:ri	Ending of gold/silver
758.	goṣa:	Corner/hem of the garment
759.	goṣṭ ka: pāha:r	A fat person
760.	gāund	A kind of gelatinous sweetmeat
761.	ghār kha:ṭe	To be dead [go to grave]
762.	ghār ka: ā:gān hona:	To ruined house
763.	ghār gha:lina:	(a) To ruin or destroy (b) Its cause evil
764.	ghār gāi	One whose house has to been destroyed means spoiled
765.	ghār jhākni	A woman who goes about to and from the houses of her female neighbors

766.	ghār ghār ke murde čākhna:	A servant who changes service very quickly
767.	ghārbāndi	A slave born in the house
768.	ghār baiṭhe ber doṛa:na:	(a)To cause evil, (b)to create disturbance by sitting at own home.
769.	ghār a:gān hona:	(a) To lessen distance, (b) to bring things closer (c) frequent visits.
770.	ghārva:	Dwelling,habitation
771.	gha:ghra; gha:ghri	A petticoat
772.	gha:na:	Quantity(to be grounded parched)
773.	ghuñgruda:r	A string of small bells worn round the ankle
774.	ghuṭne se lāgkār baiṭhna:	Do not marry one's marriageable daughter
775.	gholva:	(a)Intoxicating drink made of opium (b)Mixture made a watery mass (of a things)
776.	ghole mẽ ḍa:lina:	To practice delay
777.	lābṛa:	Greedy
778.	lābār lāber	(a)Gossip (b)Nonensical talk
779.	lāpka:	A bound forward (in order to snatch)
780.	lāpāḱ lāgna:	Greediness

781.	lǝpǝðp	Quickly
782.	lǝtu:riyǝ wa:li	A witch
783.	lǝtura: (utǝrwa:na:)]	A small curl or lock of hair, having curly locks, having tangled hair.
784.	lǝǝðk	Flexibility
785.	lǝǝka:	(a) having flexibility or elasticity, (b) bent
786.	lǝǝðk da:r	Delicate, soften, pleasant
787.	lǝčče	A gold fitting close to the neck
788.	lǝǝche da:r	Shred like, entangled
789.	lǝr	Chain
790.	lǝri	A chain
791.	lǝrki a:i sej pe lǝrka: gǝya: gaur	A girl is younger than her husband
792.	lǝg lipǝtkǝr	(a)With united force (b)all together could be done by any means
793.	lǝgǝn	A brazen or copper pan in which the hands are washed or a kneading trough which is to be large.
794.	lǝga:va:	(a) having illicit sexual relations (b) A paramour (c) A friend (of opposite sex)
795.	lǝgua:	(a) A paramour

812.	loč da:r	Starchy, glutinous
813.	lō:ng	A gold/silver nose pin (having form of a clave)
814.	lep čep kārna:	T put the blame upon (for someone else's fault)
815.	māṭka:	A large earthen vessel which is to be rounded
816.	māṭki	A small earthen vessel
817.	māṭmela:	Off-white (colour)
818.	māṭya: mail kārna:	To destroy
819.	māčhli	An ear-ring made in the form of a fish
820.	māčhli ki mēhdi	It's a design of heena (mēhdi) when the women were used heena on the hands and tightly bent the fingers and when fingers were opened a design like the fish was to be made.
821.	mārān-joga:	Cursing, fit or deserving to die
822.	mārdō mārdō mē hona:	To be dragged into a quarrel to men
823.	mārda: mārdi	By force, pertaining to men's
824.	mārdma:nās	Like men
825.	mārdva:	(a) A man (b) A husband (c) A brave man (generally used by way of contempt except of women)
826.	mārōri	Remains of flour left after

		making doughs
827.	māraiya:	An earthen vessel
828.	māsāṭ ma:rna:	To remain silent and still to feign sleep.
829.	māsosa:	Unfortunate
830.	māsosna:	(a) to squeeze, press [the vibrant heart etc] in order to stop its throbs of pain or anguish. (b) to suppress [an emotion etc] (c) to bear [a wrong] patiently Or silently (d) to regret.
831.	māṣru	Quality of cloth, it is type of silk / cotton mixed.
832.	māṣruri	Pride, haughtiness
833.	māqbuli	A dish which is to be sweetened and made up of rice, boiled gram pulse, milk inspissated by boiling, sugar
834.	māgār	A kind of jewelry on alligator shaped, ornament worn as pendant to the earring termed ba:la-(a large earring)
835.	māgzina:n	A type of bread which is made up of the mixture of the dry fruits poppy seed ṣugār, butter, flour, or fine (or the finest) flour

		or meal and chicken pieces etc.
836.	mālmāla:	Anything to be soft
837.	mālmāla:na:	To put in great agitation
838.	mālola:	Vexation, regret
839.	mālya: maiṭ kārna:	To dirty the clothes
840.	mānsālwa:	It's a type of dish prepared with butter, rice, coconut, fine sugar and other dry fruits , (native) mengo , milk inspissated by boiling.
841.	mānhu:s	Unfortunate
842.	māhi:ne se hona:	To be in a state of menstruation
843.	ma:la:	chaplet of flowers or pearls
844.	mā:gjeli	A widow
845.	ma:tha: piṭi	(a) A forehead woman (b) Unfortunate woman
846.	mā:ndā:n	(To treat with honour (b) To give reverence
847.	maut pārē	It is means, you die
848.	miṭna:	(a) To be passionately in love (with) (b) To be lost in admiration(of)
849.	miṭṭi hona:	To be spoiled (b) become faint(or turn to) clay
850.	mirčē si lāgna:	To feel as if chillies were applied
851.	mirza: be-pārwa:	Three small delicate golden chains, worn as the (tika:- patch

		of gold / silver worn on the forehead) fixed to the hari by small hooks.
852.	miza:j piṭi	Ill tempered used as contempt
853.	mi:ṭa:na:	To appease
854.	mi:ṭha: mṁhi:na:	Eight month of pregnancy
855.	muba:f	a cue/lock of hair worn behind
856.	muta:na:	To cause of pass urine of a child
857.	mutṁjṁn	A kind of dish in which meat are boiled in rice with spices ,sugar
858.	muṭṁr muṭṁr[čṁlna:]	(a) it is used for child walk; (b) walking joyfully.
859.	muḍer	Fence , boundary
860.	murda:r	(a)Impure (b)Ugly obsence
861.	murda:- šune ja:e	It implies, you don't get a washer of the dead
862.	murȳmusṁllṁm	It's a type of dish made up of dry fruits spices, onion,
863.	murki	A kind of earring worn by men
864.	musṁlla:	A cloth or velvet pieces used for prayers
865.	muṣṭṁnda:	(a)A paramour (b)stalwart fellow (c)Strong -bodied person
866.	mũh bha:ri hona:	Unlucky person after seeing of whom the day spend badly

867.	mũh pa:na:	To find (one) favorable disposed, to get into the good grace (of) to presume on the favour (of)
868.	mũh čaṛh ja:na:	Delayed period of [menses]
869.	mũh joṛna:	(a)To draw close together and whisper (b) To talk scandal in an undertone
870.	mũh zor	Outspoken
871.	mũh se phu:ṭna:	To speak by the mouth ,to break silence,to make bold to say,(used by the way of contempt)
872.	mũh ka: puhāṛ	Disrespect in controlled of the tongue
873.	mũh ma:ri	(a)Say biting or sting things (b)To stop the mouth (of a person) (c)To attack (one)with the mouth
874.	mũh -a:- mũh	(a)To say biting or stinging things, (b)To attack(one) with the mouth © To stop the mouth (of a person)
875.	mu:r.	The head
876.	moti ču:r ke lāḍḍu	A kin of sweetmeat

877.	moti pirona:	To string pearls
878.	moti ču:r	Round link (of a gold, chain and the like)
879.	moti si a:bru	Dignity having lots of wrath in comparison of pearls
880.	motiyō ka: ha:r	A necklace of pearls
881.	moṭi moṭi ga:liyǎ: dena:	Foul or offensive language
882.	mo ku aur na: to ku ṭhaur	Careless
883.	mori ka: kiṛa:	A child who dies soon after birth (used by women]
884.	mom ki mōryām	A dedicate woman
885.	mohān ma:la:	Necklace of corals and gold beads which is stunned with three string, five string or seven string.
886.	maika: bōsa:na:	To leave her father in – law's and take up her abode with her parents [a wife].
887.	mail ka: bail ba:na:na:	To multiply words
888.	maiya:	A mother
889.	merisaut	It's said by the way of contempt for the lady
890.	mēhdi čhu:ṭna:	Not to loose anything
891.	nāth	A large (gold/silver ring worn by women in the nose)
892.	nājis pa:ni	impure by nature
893.	nāxra: piṭi	A woman showing coquettish behavior (used by the way of contempt); A bad tempered

		woman.
894.	nərgis ke phu:l	Flowers of Narcissus
895.	nərgisi qəliya:	Collops
896.	nərgisi kəba:b	A kind of food dish which is made of roasted meat
897.	nərgisi kofte	A kind of dish cooked with pounded meat into the ball shape.
898.	nəzər jəla:na:	Toward off evil
899.	nəkt̪i	(a)Having small nose (b)A disgraced or dishonored woman
900.	nəkčəɾhi	A woman who turn up the nose (through contempt or pride oneself (on))
901.	nəkku	To make (one) of scorn , to make oneself in famous.
902.	nənhi ja:n	A small or young girl or woman
903.	nəha:ri kulče	It's a kind of bread prepared in a oil
904.	na:ɬha:	Having no one before and after
905.	na:rən̪ʝi	Orange (colour)
906.	na:riyəl pula:o	It's a type of food dish which is made up of [rice ,onion, coconut ,water of coconut , oil etc.
907.	na:zni:n	Delicate woman
908.	na:spiɕe	Ill tempered, used as contempt
909.	na:spiɕi	Ill tempered, used as contempt

910.	na:s ja:e	To be destroy
911.	na:kō čāne čābva:na:	To torment, worry
912.	na:k čoti mē girifta:r	(a)To be in great difficulties (b)To carry on bad days
913.	na:k mē ji hona:	To be greatly worried or harassed
914.	na:k kāṭna:	To be disgraced
915.	na:khu:ni	Nail polish
916.	na: mukār ja:na:	Not be bend adamant, one refuse to be persuaded all alone
917.	na: hot	Have nothing
918.	niḅta:ra:	To complete accomplished
919.	nisbāt	Engagement
920.	niša:t kha:tir	Sprightliness, appearing
921.	nihuṇa:	To incline or bend down, to render humble or submissive
922.	nigāh-da:št kārna:	To watch (over)
923.	nigāh lāṛa:na:	To cost love; glance (at)
924.	nigora:	(a)[a word com. used by women] which means a helpless an unfortunate person; poor little helpless one (as a term of abuse] ; one who has no heirs or relatives and sometimes used for showing the helplessness of oneself. (b) A bachelor.
925.	ni-lājja:	A shameless or immodest

		woman
926.	ni:lām	A sappire
927.	nain mutni	A soft hearted woman weeping much or constantly.
928.	naurātān	A jewelry made up of nine types of jewels/diamonds
929.	naulāk ka: ha:r	(a)A priceless gift [necklace] (b)To give great respect.
930.	naunāge	An ornament worn on the upper arm
931.	nauj	(prob. Corr. Of nauzu) Intj: God forbid , by no means, on no. of account no never (an expressions peculiar to muham madan woman)
932.	nexbāxt	A well -disposed or good woman or man
933.	nesti ma:ra:	Unfortunate; idle woman
934.	neklis	A type of gold ornament worn on the neck
935.	nekniyāt	Well - disposed well-intentional
936.	vāba:l sāmēṇa:	Self- restraint, to be involved in calamity
937.	va:r lena:	(a) to breath (b) to wait
938.	va:r milna:	To have (one's) turn; to get an opportunity.
939.	va:ri	Devoting oneself (for); waving

		anything round the head of a person (as a sign of being an offering or sacrifice for his or her welfare a phrase used by women.
940.	voh	A wife refers to her husband (it is being considered disrespectful call one's husband by name)
941.	voh ba:t voh ka:m	Having to do with sex
942.	həbuɾa:	Ill-shaped,clumsy; awkward man
943.	həbuɾi	Ill-shaped,clumsy; awkward woman
944.	həppa:	A mouthful, soft food [for children]
945.	hətya:na:	Insistence
946.	hətt̪a: kətt̪a:	Stout
947.	hət̪ uʈha:na:	To bear with the whims(of an others)
948.	hərra:fa:	A woman, who is to be wandered or ill-mannered
949.	həza:ri umr-	wishing long life, it is used by the women in reply to salaam
950.	həlkəɱ ɖa:l̪na:	(a)Creat an uproar or disturbance, harshness (b)To make hurry
951.	həlla ɖulla:	Uproar, assault
952.	həmail	A sort of necklace

953.	ha:th pa:ð se čhu:ṭna:	To have a safe delivery
954.	ha:th dhula:i	It's a tradition; custom
955.	ha:mila:	A pregnant woman
956.	ha:e-re	Intj.
957.	ha:th ləge maila: hona:	To become soiled by the touch of the hand very clean and white
958.	ha:th ke ber na: kha:na:	Extreme hatred
959.	ha:th bhi na: ləga:ū/ləgva:ū	To see someone with low priority
960.	ha:thō ke čhəlle	A ring of gold/silver or other metal worn on a finger
961.	ha:thi da:nt ke curə(kəre)	It's a sort of bangle
962.	ha:la: ḍola:	Shaking, trembling, quacking, agitation
963.	ha:li-məva:li	Friends, companion
964.	hiḍra:	Condition, state, circumstances
965.	hī:ng ləge na: phiṭkəri aur rəṅg bhi čokha: ho ja:e	Trying to get good result without efforts
966.	huṛḍəngi	(a) a turbulent woman, (b) a gad- about (c) turbulence
967.	huṛḍənga:	Turbulent
968.	hula:s	Snuff-box
969.	hone ke dīn a:na:	Close to monthly cycle i.e. menstruation.
970.	hot ke jot mẽ	(a) brightness; a glance of the eye

		(b) Glamour of money
971.	hauka: ləgna:	Greediness
972.	haua:	To cause worry
973.	yeh mu:ng aur māsū:r. ki da:l	Undeserving to receive something
974.	ya:rba:š	A wanded or ill mannered man.